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A BOOK ABOUT BOOKS

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Psalter and Book of Hours of John de Beaufort and his wife, Margaret, who kneel before a picture of the Annunciation; early fifteenth century

A BOOK ABOUT BOOKS

By

FREDERICK HARRISON

CANON, CHANCELLOR AND LIBRARIAN OF YORK MINSTER

★

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

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FOREWORD

THE only new thing about this book is the gathering of its contents into one small volume. I have drawn as fully on the writings of others as on my own acquaintance with many of the manuscripts, printed books and early newspapers which are mentioned in its pages. Of some of them I have been for many years the proud custodian. That such things are interesting to the young as well as to the not-very-young I know from many years' experience of talking about them to thousands of visitors to York Minster. Those who read the book will, I hope, realise that the race to which we belong, while hard-working and to some extent hard-hearted, has produced lovely things, and that, in the period of reconstruction after the war, we can repay our debt to them by making our cities and towns things of the beauty which is a joy for ever.

My thanks are gladly given to the writers of those " books about books " whose wisdom has been to me an inspiration ; to Mr. W. L. Farquharson and Mr. H. E. Wilmott, of the staff of the Publisher, for the chapter which they have written ; to Mr. Wilmott also for his much-tried patience and his outstanding help in the preparation of this book from start to finish ; to my two secretaries, Mrs. John Kirlew and Miss Priscilla Procter, who, with Miss Marjory Green, have been unwearying in their efforts to transform my illegible handwriting into legible typescript, and—last, but most of all—to my wife, whose help and inspiration during the long hours of work have never flagged.

Acknowledgment of permissions kindly given for reproduction of illustrations is made in the List of Illustrations on page vii.

F. H.

YORK, *June* 1943.

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CHAPTER I

WHAT IS A BOOK?

WHAT is a book? Let us try to answer this question. A book consists of a number of leaves, which are fastened together by means of a cover called a binding, and on which are written, or printed, words which convey to the readers something which the author or the writer of the book wants them to know.

This definition applies to any and every book as we know books to be. But, not long ago, a well-known newspaper announced that an ambassador of a foreign country read himself to sleep every night with a different kind of book, one made of bricks of burnt clay. These bricks, which are about 2,500 years old, had been found by the owner of them on the site of Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, the city to which the prophet Jonah was sent and which was destroyed by the armies of Babylon six centuries before Christ. Upwards of 10,000 of them, of sizes varying from one inch to twelve inches square, were found. On some of them is written part of the story of the Assyrian empire. Some people take hot bricks to bed with them to keep themselves warm on cold nights. But to take bricks to bed, one brick each night, as some people take a book—this indeed seems to be a new use for bricks. Yet books were made of bricks, or tablets of burnt clay, long before the books with which we are familiar were thought of. "From brick to book" would form a suitable title for this chapter, for the story is to be told in it of how books came to be —well, books.

A study of words reveals to us that many familiar words are used, in our language not less than in other

languages, in senses which are different from those in which they were first used. For example, many of the words which are used in connection with books are derived from the names of parts of trees. The word *book* itself, which comes to us from the Anglo-Saxon word *boc*, is derived from an ancient word applied to the bark of trees. The ancient Greeks used the word *byblos* (our own *Bible*, from the Latin *biblia*, books) for what we call a book. But, to them, it brought to mind the material of which their books were made, the Egyptian *papyrus*, a product of natural growth in the field. Some of their books were described by the word *codex*, their name for the trunk of a tree. Similarly, we employ the word *leaf* for a piece of paper which in a book forms two pages. But the same word denotes, in another of its meanings, one of the innumerable green shoots which, year by year, spring from the branches of trees.

From very early times, men have succeeded in leaving behind them records of their thoughts and actions. For this purpose, they made marks on durable materials, such as stone, wood, clay, wax, the bark of trees, and even lead, potsherds (broken pieces of pot or earthenware) and leather. It is only to be expected that examples of these ancient methods of making records for posterity should have been found in the east, the home of ancient civilisations. The children of Seth, one of the sons of Adam, described their discoveries about the stars, and their inventions, on columns of stone. The famous Moabite stone, now in the British Museum, was set up nearly a thousand years before Christ by Mesha, King of Moab, to record his revolt against Jehoram, King of Israel. Joshua set up twelve stones, one for each of the tribes of the children of Israel, as a memorial of their crossing of the river Jordan. Moses brought down from Mount Sinai two tables or tablets of stone on which

were inscribed the Ten Commandments ; while, in the seventh century before Christ, Solon, the giver of the first law to Athens, used for a similar purpose wooden boards. Most mysterious and mighty of all records in stone, the Pyramids of Egypt still stand in the desert, bidding fair to outlive them all.

The east led the way in the discovery of other suitable materials on which to leave records to posterity. Tablets of ivory, metal or wood, covered with wax and used as " note-books ", are mentioned by Herodotus, the " father of history ", who lived in Greece in the fifth century before Christ, and also by Cicero, who lived in Rome in the time of Julius Cæsar. Many such tablets were found when the sites of Herculaneum and Pompeii, two Roman cities which were overwhelmed by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, were excavated. The marks on the wax had been made with a pointed metal instrument called a *stylus*, which was carried about by educated people as a fountain pen is now. The Bible contains references to this kind of writing.

Job xix. 23–4 : " Oh that my words were now written ! Oh that they were printed in a book, that they were graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock for ever ! "

Jeremiah xvii. 1 : " The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond."

At about the same time—several centuries before Christ—bark, prepared for writing, came into use. The Latin word for the outer skin of the papyrus plant, and for bark, is *liber*, which is translated into English as *book*. A library is therefore a collection of books. Both the Egyptians and the Romans found that linen would serve a similar purpose as a material to be written on. At Athens, the names of those who were to be banished for breaking the laws of the city were inscribed on potsherds, while leather, made from skins, was used

by the Egyptians as far back as two-thousand years before Christ.

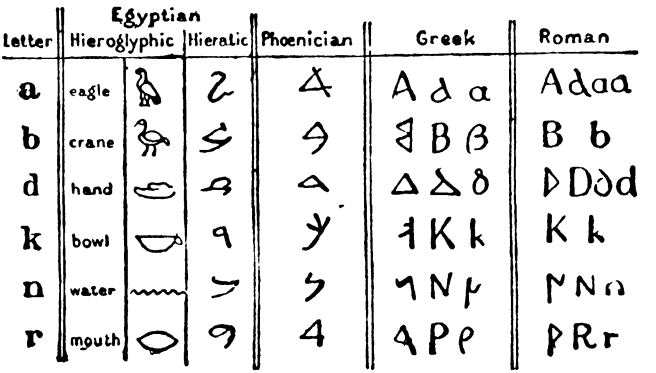
Except in the case of linen and leather, none of these ingenious ways of making records could have developed into what we know as a book. Two, or even three, tablets might be joined together to form a *diptych* (two-fold), or a *triptych* (threefold), an arrangement which was used commonly in the later middle ages by Italian and Flemish artists. When they used a triptych, they painted on the middle panels figures of Christ, or of the Virgin and Child, and, on the two side panels, groups of people kneeling or standing in worship. In this grouping of two or more tablets we have an early form of binding, the tablets being fastened together with bands of wire or other flexible material. Skins of animals were destined not to come into general use for being written on, until, many centuries after, they were first used for this purpose in the form of leather. Their successful rival was the Egyptian papyrus plant, which grew in abundance in the basin of the river Nile. The inner and softer parts of the pith of the stems of the plant were laid in vertical lengths, side by side, so as to form a rough sheet. Other and similar lengths were laid horizontally on the top of this. These loose stalks were then moistened with water from the Nile, and pressed, sometimes with the aid of glue, to form a sheet which is called, in Latin, *scheda* (English, *schedule*, a leaf of paper). When the sheets were dried and polished, they were ready for use. As with parchment later on, the sheets could be fastened together to form a piece which might be even 30 feet, or even very much more, in length. One piece which forms an Egyptian book was nearly 150 feet long, by about 16 inches wide, though when the piece was arranged as a book the lines of writing were parallel to the long sides. The

side to be written on was the one on which the pieces of fibre lay horizontally. The papyrus mentioned in the book of Ezekiel (ii. 10) on which was written " lamentations, and mourning, and woe " had been written " within and without ", that is, on both sides—a practice which was not common.

The Bible contains more references to writing on papyrus. Indeed, the earliest biblical manuscripts that have survived are on papyrus. The third epistle of St. John, verse 13, runs :

> I had many things to write, but I will not with ink and pen write unto thee.

The ink was made of a mixture of gum and charcoal, diluted with water. The charcoal provided the colour-



Where our Alphabet came from.

ing-matter, and the gum ensured that the ink would adhere to the surface of the papyrus. The pen in common use was made from a hollow stalk or reed, an early form of quill pen. One advantage of this ink was that it could easily be removed with a soft sponge, so that the piece of papyrus could be used again, papyrus being by

no means cheap. A sheet which had been used twice in this way is known as a *palimpsest.*

Before the war which broke out in September, 1939, the Musée Louvre, in Paris, possessed the oldest Egyptian records on papyri which have yet been discovered. They are said to have been written 20 to 25 centuries B.C. It is held, however, that some kind of writing was being used about the year 3000 B.C. It was natural, as we have seen, for the Egyptians to use papyri, for the papyrus plant grew in abundance on the banks of the Nile, and the turgid waters of the river were suitable for the moisture which was used to fasten the pieces of pith to make a continuous, level surface to which ink could be applied. In course of time, the Greeks began to import papyrus from Egypt, and to use it for their records. The first extensive discovery of Greek papyri was not made, however, until the site of Herculaneum, buried under lava from Vesuvius, in A.D. 79, was excavated in the year 1752. One of the writings then found consisted of a letter to an orphan child written by his guardian, Epicurus:

> We have arrived, in health, at Lampsadus . . . where we have found Themistas and the rest of the friends to be in good health. It is good if you and your grandmother are well, and if you will obey your grandfather and your matron [nurse?] in all things, as you have done before. For be sure that the reason why both I and all the rest love you so much is that you obey these in all things.

It is good to find a man who died nearly three centuries before Christ asking for that obedience from children which St. Paul said was pleasing to God.

Further discoveries of papyri, this time Egyptian, were made at Gizeh in the year 1778, when about fifty rolls came to light. As nobody wanted them, they were burned. About twenty years afterwards, on the site of Memphis, more rolls were found, some of them giving

information about the Serapeum, the temple built in honour of the god, Serapis. One of the letters, from a woman to her husband, who was "in retreat" at the Temple, contains a passage in which she asks him to return home on account of the plight of herself and their child owing to the high price of food and their lack of money. The letter ends:

> I am utterly distressed . . . I entreat you for the sake of your mother, who is in great trouble, and for our sakes, to return to the city . . . Pray take care of yourself, that you may be in health.

As might be expected from a material which was in use for at least 3,000 years by two highly-civilised peoples, the Egyptians and the Greeks, papyrus records are of all kinds—not only biblical texts, but also poems, speeches, petitions to governments, census returns, contracts of apprenticeship and marriage, public notices, wills, and even Christian prayers such as this, which was found at Oxyrhyncus:

> O God, the all-ruling, the holy, the true One, merciful and creative, the Father of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, reveal to me Thy truth, whether Thou wishest me to go to Chiout and whether I shall find Thee aiding me and gracious. So let it be. Amen.

It is fitting that, at this point in our story, a short account should be given of the earliest texts of the Bible that have yet come to light.

Those unfortunate people, the Jews, who have been wanderers over the face of the earth for many centuries, were driven to fresh wanderings in search of new homes towards the end of the first century. By the middle of the third century, large numbers of them were settled round the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, many of them in Alexandria, then a city to which scholars

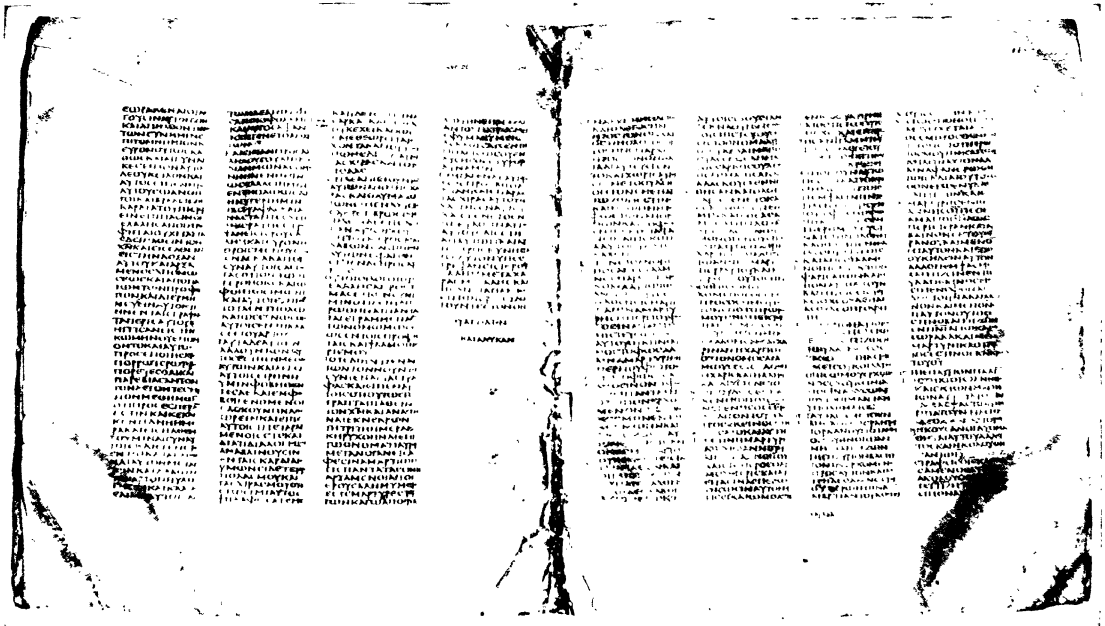
were attracted. It was in this city that seventy-two scholars translated from Hebrew into Greek the Old Testament, for the use of those educated Jews who could speak and read Greek. Of this Greek Old Testament, three notable early copies remain, written on vellum, with fragments of two older copies written on papyrus. These are known as the Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Chester-Beatty papyri, the last-named of which came to the British Museum not very long ago.

The Codex Sinaiticus was discovered at a monastery on Mount Sinai about ninety years ago by the German theologian Tischendorf, who presented it to the Tsar Alexander, by whom it was placed in the Russian National Library at St. Petersburg (now called Leningrad). A few years ago, this rare text of the whole Bible was bought for the British people for the sum of £100,000, and placed in the British Museum.

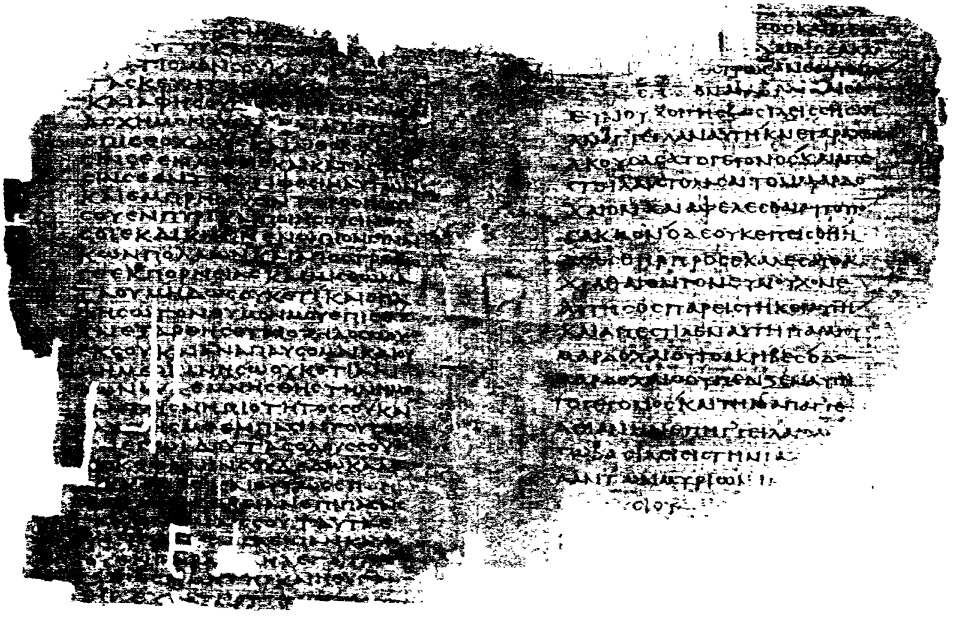
The Codex Vaticanus, so called because its home has been for centuries in the Vatican Library, Rome, also contains both the Old Testament and the New Testament. Both this codex and the Codex Sinaiticus were written in the fourth century.

The Codex Alexandrinus is also in the British Museum. In the year 1628, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had probably obtained it in Alexandria—hence its name—presented it to Charles I, and it remained in the royal library until George II presented it to the newly-founded British Museum with the collection which is still known as the Royal Library.

These three codices are surpassed in interest and value by the Chester-Beatty papyri, named after their owner and now deposited in the British Museum. These form only a portion of the whole Bible. But the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy have been dated as early as



Two pages of the Codex Sinaiticus. The end of the Gospel according to St. Luke, and the beginning of the Gospel according to St. John



Part of the Chester-Beatty Papyrus. Fragment of the Books of Ezekiel and Esther

between the years 120 and 150 A.D. ; and the remainder, consisting of parts of the books of Genesis, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Jeremiah and Ezra, and fragments of the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and some of the Epistles of St. Paul, are only about a century less old. These rare and unique manuscripts are parts of two very early papyri each of which probably contained the whole Bible and included what is called the Apocrypha.

The collection of early Biblical manuscripts in this country is added to by the Codex Bezae. Theodore Beza was a Burgundian who was born in the year 1619. Brought up as a Roman Catholic, though he never took holy orders, he became interested in Calvinism, and went to Geneva to sit at the feet of the great Protestant theologian, Calvin. On Calvin's death, Beza was regarded by Calvinists as their leader. Becoming possessed of a Greco-Latin copy of the New Testament made in the fourth century, he brought it to England, and presented it to the library of the University of Cambridge, where it still is. Named after him, it is called the Codex Bezae—the Codex of Beza.

While, as has been indicated, these texts are by no means perfect, portions of all of them being missing, it is a proud thing for us that all, except one, are in this country. Three of the four codices have been reproduced, in *facsimile*, and many libraries in this country possess copies of these reproductions. Parts of the Chester-Beatty papyri have also been issued in the same way ; and doubtless, in better times than the present, the remainder and the Codex Alexandrinus will be reproduced for the use of students.

Early in the fifth century, Jerome, one of the great Latin " Fathers " of the Church, issued a Latin translation of the Bible known as the Vulgate. Though other editions of the Bible were known in the middle ages, the

Vulgate became the best known and the one most generally used in the services of the Church. Thus, by the end of the fourth century, texts of the Bible existed in Latin and Greek. It was not till a thousand years afterwards that a translation of the Bible, based on the Vulgate, was made into English—the one which bears the honoured name of John Wyclif.

While papyrus was extremely durable provided that it was not handled too much, damp and extreme dryness were its enemies. The number of specimens of it which have survived to the present day would have been much greater if pains had been taken to preserve these rare records of the writing and the culture of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome. Papyrus was hardly ever used after the fourth century A.D., when vellum or parchment came into general favour. In Egypt itself, a blow to the use of papyrus was dealt by the Arabs when they conquered the country about the middle of the seventh century before Christ. They stopped the export of papyrus, and a new material for writing on had to be found.

The familiar paper on which most modern printing is impressed has been in common use in Europe for less than five centuries. This seems, and indeed is, a long time, though it is equal only to the joint lives, placed " on end ", of only seven men of 70 years of age. Yet parchment or vellum, which succeeded papyrus, was in general use in Europe for more than twice as long. Eumenes, King of Pergamos (the Greek spelling ; in Latin, *Pergamum*), in Asia Minor, during the second century before Christ, anxious to provide a library for himself, found the source of papyrus cut off by the king of Egypt, who, jealous of the reputation of his own library, ordered that no more papyrus should be exported from Egypt. This led to experiments in the preparation of skins, which were successful during the reign of

Eumenes. The skins were first cleansed from hair on the outside, and from the remains of flesh on the inside. They were then stretched and dried, and made smooth with pumice-stone. The application of a dressing of finely powdered chalk produced a surface which could be "made alive" with beautiful and regular hand-writing, and with attractive ornamentation and lovely pictures in colour. This invention was a turning-point in the history of art and literature. Called "parchment" (in Latin, *pergamena*, from Pergamos, the name of the country over which Eumenes ruled), the new material could be produced in any country in which calves, sheep, pigs, and even asses and goats, could be reared. While the name *vellum* (Latin *vitulus*, Old French *velin*, a calf) ought to be applied only to the produce of the skin of the calf, it is used, like the term *parchment*, for the prepared skins of other animals. Parchment or vellum naturally varies in quality. The leaves of a magnificent book, written early in the fifteenth century, the proud possession of the parish church of Ranworth, Norfolk, are made of the finest sheepskin, white and smooth. In the year 1519, Frobenius, the printer and friend of Erasmus, printed Erasmus's version, in Greek, of the New Testament on vellum of the very finest quality. Other books, such as some of the records in the possession of ancient cathedrals and parish churches in this country, are composed of leaves the surface of many of which is rough and uneven. But parchment is tough and stiff, untearable and, unless injured by damp or dryness, everlasting. For more than a thousand years the literature and much of the art of the countries of Europe were entrusted to parchment.

The ease with which parchment could be cut into pieces of various sizes made it easy to bind them together to form books which in all essentials are the forerunners

of our modern books, except that they were written and not printed. Such an early copy of the four Gospels as the Lindisfarne Gospels (see pages 19–22), finished at the end of the seventh century, is in book form, and yet many records are found at a much later date on pieces of parchment sewn together side by side to form one long piece. From early times, medieval bishops kept records of their official acts in registers. One of the earliest surviving examples of a record of this kind is the register of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York from 1215 to 1255. This record is made on two "rolls"—so called because each of them was kept rolled up for storage, as they still are. The dimensions of these rolls are as follows:

(1) 27 feet 9 inches, with an index 6 feet 7 inches long. The sheets are 8 inches wide, and it takes nineteen of them, sewn together, to make the complete roll. Each membrane, or sheet, is thus not far short of two feet long.

(2) 42 feet 8 inches long, by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. 26 membranes, each, again, almost 2 feet long.

Another roll of about the same date measures 37 feet 10 inches long by $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. A record of a legal case heard in the chapter house of York Minster in the year 1346 occupies a roll 7 feet long.

These long records were kept on shelves, each roll being wound round a cylinder of wood, ivory or metal, to which a label was attached so that any roll could be found when it was needed. Because the parchment was "revolved" round its cylinder, it was called a *volume*, that is, a thing rolled or revolved round something. Each label was called a *titulus index*, that is, an inscription which was shewn. Not all rolls, however, were so long that several pieces of parchment, sewn together, were needed. Some, such as statements of rents or accounts, were much

shorter, and could be written on single sheets only 1, 2 or 3 feet long. They contain very interesting information. One, of the year 1472, gives details of a journey on horseback which was made by William Hoton and his servant from York to London, via Salisbury and Winchester, where he had business. The charges shewn are for hire of horses as well as for accommodation :

To Tadcaster, Ferrybridge and Doncaster, and for staying there overnight	18*d.*
On the Thursday to Blyth, Warsop, Mansfield and Nottingham	20*d.*
On the Friday to Prestwold, Leicester and Lutterworth, and staying there overnight	2*s.*
On the Saturday to Daventry, Brackley and Oxford, and staying there overnight	2*s.*
On the Sunday to Abingdon, Barnby and Andover, and staying there overnight	20*d.*
On the Monday to (Nether) Wallop and Salisbury	2*s.* 1*d.*
On the Tuesday, at Salisbury, in expenses of the said William and of Thomas of Cottingham, for three days	4*s.* 1½*d.*
On the Saturday and Sunday to Winchester	3*s.* 3½*d.*
On the Monday to Alton, Farnham and Guildford	2*s.* 2*d.*
On the Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, to and in London, with his servant	5*s.* 7*d.*

Another very attractive little mediæval roll gives details of the wages paid to two masons who worked in the building of the church of St. Martin, Coney Street, York, in the year 1446. The masons, John Awkebarow and John Witton, were paid fortnightly, their wages for the fortnight varying from 5*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* each.

Rolls, however, are only one kind of " book ", as books were known in the middle ages. From the time of the codices, the placing of two pieces of writing material in a file and bound together, as we have them in a modern book, was being practised. In a modern book, while three of the edges of every page have usually been cut before the book has been bound, the edges which are

gripped by the covers are not cut. For the reason of this, we have to go back to the making of books from parchment. As a rule, each scribe was given four of these sheets of parchment, which he placed in a pile with smooth sides touching smooth sides, and rough sides touching rough sides. He then doubled the pile of four sheets down the middle, and began to write, with the creases to his left. When he had finished writing on the eight sheets, that is, on sixteen sides or pages, he was handed four more sheets, which he treated in the same way. The system of numbering that was used was not our system, in which the separate pages are numbered. Only the leaves, or folios as they are called in manuscripts, were numbered, in the top right-hand corner of the right-hand folios, so that a folio consisted of two sides of a piece of parchment. For convenience of reference, the first or upper side, beginning with the right-hand top corner of each folio, was numbered 1a or 1r (r for *recto*, that is, on the right hand) ; and the reverse side was numbered 1b or 1v (v for *verso* or reverse side). The numbering of the pages thus ran :—1a (or 1r), 1b (or 1v), 2a (or 2r), 2b (or 2v), and so on. A manuscript contains therefore only half as many folios as a printed book of the same size contains pages. A bundle of folios bound together by the same thread sewn at the crease is called a gathering. These gatherings often vary in the number of folios which they contain. The gatherings in a printed book vary according to the number of times a large sheet of paper has been doubled to bring it to the size required for the book.

The appearance of a well-written medieval book in manuscript is a joy to behold. Every page gives the impression of extreme care not only in the formation of the letters but also in the spacing of the words and of the lines, and in the width of the margins. The only irregu-

larity that is to be noticed is in the ends of the lines at the right-hand edges, the scribes not always being able to arrange the contents of every line so that it occupies the same amount of space as every other line on the same page. Early printed books reveal this irregularity, which is now overcome by spacing the words so that the lines are of equal length. Before he began to write, the scribe first ruled, in faint ink, his writing space so as to leave generous margins. Often, in large books, he wrote in two columns to a page. He then ruled the lines on which his letters were to rest. Writing was an art which was practised for its own sake. Both inside and outside monastic houses, hundreds of men spent their working hours in this laborious work. There can be no doubt that many scribes, being only copyists, found their work monotonous. (See page 74.) But the sense of devotion which led monks and other scribes to give up their lives to their calling as *scriptores* or scribes made their task less onerous than would otherwise have been the case. Even long manuscripts shew little or no sign of that fatigue which might be expected to shew itself in a gradual loss of quality in the writing. In any case, the work of the scribes was less dull than that of the thousands of modern workers on processes of mass-production. We are probably right in thinking that the medieval scribe was not compelled to work against time. It is very rare to find a book which tells us exactly when it was written ; it is still rarer to meet a scribe who is obliging enough to say when and where he began and finished a book. The scribe of a book in the library of the Dean and Chapter of York does give this information :

> The first four books of this romance were written at Oxford, the last two at Newlyn in Surrey. They were begun at Easter at Oxford, and finished at Newlyn at Candlemas [i.e. February 2nd]. In the year of our Lord 1267.

The book, which consists of 218 large octavo folios, is written in verse, or poetry. It cannot have occupied a scribe, however, for ten months of his whole working time. As he was a monk, according to a little sketch of himself which he has drawn in a margin of the first folio, he would probably be copying other books at the same time.

What kind of ink was used by those who wrote on parchment? Medieval ink was made to last. As it has come down to us in thousands of manuscripts, it varies in colour from a rich, deep black to a lightish brown due probably to its containing a smaller amount of colouring matter than the more durable ink, or to the action of damp. The word *ink* is a shortened form of a Greek word *enkauston* (Latin *incaustum*), a word which denotes a process of "burning in". From the early days of the Christian era, ink was made either from the blackish liquid which a cuttle-fish throws out to avoid pursuit, or from a mixture of gum and soot (or charcoal) watered down, or from metallic compounds. Ink of these kinds could be sponged off papyrus so that the sheets could be used again. (See page 5.) Ink made from metallic compounds fell out of use because it was found to be harmful to parchment. Later on, various ways of making ink were tried. The following is a typical recipe:

> Dry for two to four hours the wood of thorn-tree picked in April or May. Peel the bark by beating the wood with mallets, and soak it in water for eight days. Boil the water, adding bits of bark for a short time, and cook it down until it thickens. Then add wine, and cook again. Place the liquid in pots in the sun until the black liquid purifies itself from the red dregs. Afterwards, take small bags of parchment, or bladders, and, pouring into them the pure ink, hang them in the sun until all is dry. Then take from it what you want, dilute it with wine over the fire, and, adding to it a little vitriol, write.

Here our story of the progress "from bricks to books"

must end. Thousands of books written on parchment, many of them beautifully illuminated, have survived from the period of eight centuries and more till the early years of the sixteenth century. Of these we shall learn something in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER II

ILLUMINATED BOOKS

FOR eight centuries, English scribes and painters, such as Eadwine of Canterbury (see pages 55–57) produced so many books that these form almost a literature by themselves. Most of these books were used day by day in the religious life of the nation. They are prized, however, by most people not so much because of their contents as because they are examples of two of the most attractive arts of the middle ages, those of writing and illumination. When they have been preserved from the dangers of damp and destruction, they belong to the realm of beautiful things. As a class, they are usually spoken of as " illuminated manuscripts " because, owing to their lovely colours of gold (in the form of gold-leaf) and silver, and all the colours of the rainbow, their ornamentation and their small pictures illuminate or " light up " the grey of the parchment and the black of the ink. They belong to the time when churches and religious houses were playing an important part in the life of the nation—a part which they ceased to play after the Reformation.

The story of these lovely books begins in this country with the later years of the seventh century. Whenever Christianity was accepted, churches were built and a system of worship was begun which needed service-books and other kinds of books without which the new faith would have died out. From the earliest days of the Christian faith in this country, the very best was considered not to be too good to be offered in the worship and the service of God. Churches as spacious and lofty as art and craftsmanship could make them, settlements

in which communities of clergy could live, study, worship, and from which they could be sent out to preach the Gospel, altars and other furnishings to make the worship of the Church dignified, music to help the worshippers to lift up their hearts to God, and books to match the splendour of the other gifts which were being offered—all these—combined to give to the middle ages the character which, above all, marked this period. This is the background, this passion for giving to God the best that art and craftsmanship and devotion could supply, against which the story of illuminated manuscripts must be told.

One of the most thrilling journeys possible in this country, to adults as well as to children, is the short journey of about three miles from the mainland of Northumberland to the holy spot known as Lindisfarne. At low tide it is possible to make the crossing of the short strait of sea on foot, preferably without shoes and stockings. A walk of about two miles across firm sands then brings one to the site of the ancient monastery, the ruins of which can be seen from the mainland. If the short journey cannot be made on foot, a motor-car can be hired. Skilful and careful driving is necessary to prevent the car from getting "stuck" in the soft sand below the water. The trouble and the risk of the journey are well repaid when, towards the east end of the ruins of the ancient monastic church, one stands on the site of the church built by Oswald, King of Northumbria from 633 to 642, and Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne from 634 or 635 to 651. This is indeed holy ground, trodden nearly thirteen centuries ago by two saints of God, Aidan and Cuthbert. This is where the Lindisfarne Gospels, now one of the rich treasures of the British Museum, were written, and were finished about the year 700. This magnificent book is the finest artistic product of the years between the re-introduction of Christianity into

this country in the late sixth and the early seventh century and the destructive descents of the Danes which began at the end of the eighth century.

Aidan was brought up at Iona, the monastic house of St. Columba, who, after founding monastic houses in Ireland at Derry on Lough Foyle, and Durrow in County Leinster, came to Iona soon after the middle of the sixth century. There he built a church and a monastery, from which he journeyed to the mainland of Scotland and converted the wild Picts to the Christian faith. Columba had learnt the arts of writing and painting in his young days in Ireland. It is said that he left his native country for Iona because he claimed for his own a copy of the Psalter which he had copied with his own hand. This story is probably quite untrue. What is certain is that the arts of writing and painting manuscripts reached Iona from Ireland through Columba. The best product of the Irish monasteries is the famous Book of Kells, a copy of the Gospels written at the Irish monastery of Kells, in County Antrim. This rare treasure, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, was written at about the same time as the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The twin arts of writing and painting were, however, reaching this country from another source also. Augustine had introduced them from Rome to Canterbury, when the monasteries of Christ Church and St. Augustine were founded, the one by him, and the other in his memory after his death. Towards the end of the seventh century, Benedict Biscop, abbot of the monastery of Monkwearmouth, who paid several visits to Rome, enriched his church with manuscripts which he had brought from the Eternal City. At the same time, Aldhelm, founder of the monastery of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, and bishop of Sherborne, in Dorset, where he died in the year 709, was bringing manuscripts for his two

monasteries and was writing religious poems of his own composition—in Latin, of course—and was composing music to tame the wild and warlike people amongst whom he lived and for whom he worked. These three —Augustine, Benedict Biscop and Aldhelm—were receiving the Christian arts from Rome, and not from Iona. Roman and Celtic styles of writing and painting differed from each other. These differences, however, are of no importance to us. What does matter is that, in the religious houses which were being founded in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Christian arts of building, decoration, writing and painting were being practised, and that under their influence this country was becoming gradually more civilised until the arrival of the Danes put an end to them for more than a century. The book that was most in demand was, as might be expected, the Gospels, for this was the companion of the missionaries who were sent from the monasteries into the country round about. In those early days, there were no parish churches, so the missionaries went to the people in their houses, armed with the Gospels. The monastic churches needed, however, other books for the daily offices or services which were said or sung in them, and for the public services held in the few churches for the people which existed, built mainly of wood. This was the way in which, in these early days, the people of this country were converted to the Christian faith. Every monastic house was a centre of missionary activity as well as of prayer and study. The fame of the school for monks at Jarrow, under the Venerable Bede (673–735), spread far and wide. Even though, like the other scribes of his time, he wrote in Latin, and even though his books were not illuminated, Bede was the father of English learning and English history. He will be referred to in the account of English literature (see page 222).

Not many books have come down to us from this early time, the eighth and ninth centuries. Of them, the Lindisfarne Gospels is the finest. Written " in honour of God and St. Columba ", it takes us back to the very earliest days of Christianity at Lindisfarne. An inscription in Anglo-Saxon which is contained in the book has been translated thus :

> Thou living God, be thou mindful of Eadfrith, Æthelwald, Billfrith and Aldred, a sinner.
>
> These four have, with God's help, been engaged upon this book.

It is thought that Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne from 698 to 721, was the scribe and the painter, at any rate until he became bishop. Æthelwald, who was bishop from 724 to 740, may have bound the book. Billfrith's share was probably the cutting of the jewels and the moulding of the metal-work on the cover, which has long since disappeared. Aldred may have been the writer, much later, of the Anglo-Saxon gloss or notes.

The book is a large one. It contains 258 leaves or folios of vellum, each measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $9\frac{5}{8}$ inches. These contain the text of the Gospels, with some introductory matter and with several pages which have magnificent illuminations. These include a full-page picture of each of the four evangelists (St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John), five full-page crosses and many other intricate designs. (See illustration facing page 24.) In addition, there is much ornamentation, which includes pictures of birds, such as the cormorant, which have their homes on Holy Island and the Farne Islands. The colours throughout are dark red, blue, green, mauve, yellow, purple, and pink. The gold colour was added later.

Besides the Book of Kells, which has already been mentioned, this period of Celtic art produced, in the

north-east of this country, the Gospels of St. Chad (now in the library of Lichfield Cathedral) and copies of the Gospels now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace. Illuminated manuscripts of this period are very scarce indeed.

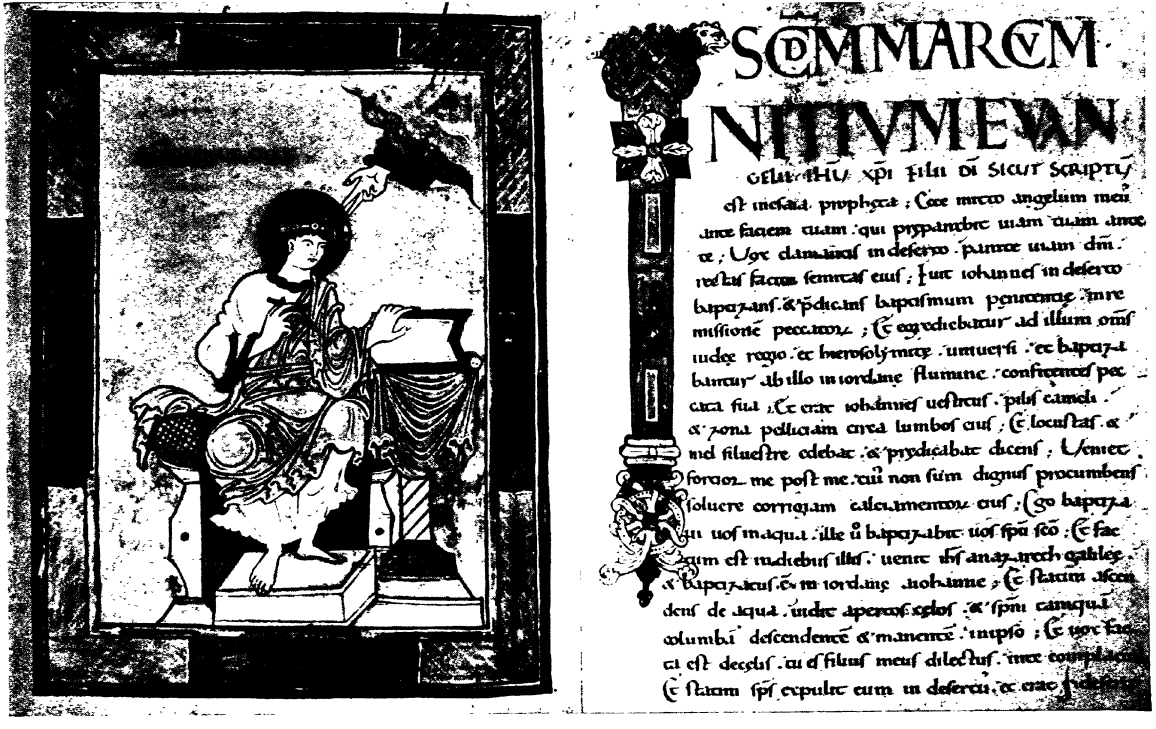
How long the arts of writing and painting would have continued to flourish, and what forms they would have taken, it is impossible to say. They were rudely interrupted by the incursions of the Danes. During the ninth and tenth centuries, the Christian faith, while not eclipsed everywhere for the whole of this time, was nowhere safe from persecution. The monks of Lindisfarne were compelled to leave their home. Shouldering their precious burden, the body of their beloved bishop, St. Cuthbert, who had died in 687, and the copy of the Gospels which he may actually have seen in process of being written and illuminated, they set out on their travels in the year 875, rested at Chester-le-Street for over a century, and finally came to rest on the hill of Dunholm, where they built a church over the body of St. Cuthbert, a church which is now represented by Durham Cathedral. One part of the country after another suffered from the invaders. Finally, a peace was signed between them and Alfred the Great, and a revival of Christianity in the kingdom of Wessex took place. Towards the end of the tenth century, a new glory came to Wessex in the foundation of two religious houses quite near to each other at Winchester—the "old Minster", on the site of the former home of St. Swithun, and the "New Minster". From these two monasteries there flowed during the century before the Norman Conquest a steady stream of illuminated manuscripts, which brought to Winchester, then the capital of England, lasting fame. Two of these are worthy of mention. One is the charter of King

Edgar to New Minster, now in the British Museum, which is contained in a book which has a frontispiece. Within an oblong frame, ornamented with a design of scrollwork and flowers, Christ in the sky, supported by four angels, is represented above, while on the ground stands the king, looking up with arms outstretched and offering the book, which he holds in his right hand, to his Lord. With the king are the Virgin and St. Peter, in whose honour the "New Minster", just built, had been dedicated. The charter is dated 968; and this drawing is the very first that has come down to us of the work of a Winchester painter. Alas! his name will never be known. The other is the book, one of the treasures of the library of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth House, known as the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold. This rare manuscript contains the forms of blessing which were appointed to be used at Mass by the bishop at various times of the year. When we hear that two of the pages are written in letters of pure gold, and that more than thirty of the pages are adorned with large pictures, we realise how great a treasure is here. Again, it is fortunate that the scribe, at any rate of part of the book, has told us his name. On two pages, written in letters of gold, the writer praises Æthelwold, his bishop, and reveals how the bishop ordered "a certain monk" to write the book and to adorn it with many arches in gold and other colours, so that the book might be used by the bishop for blessing his flock to sanctify them and keep them from evil. This oration ends:

> Let all who look upon this book pray always that after the term of the flesh I may abide in heaven. . . .
>
> . . . Godeman, the writer, a suppliant, earnestly asks this.

The pictures, which are arranged in frames and under arches of varying shapes, are to be found at the pages which contain the forms of prayer and blessing for the

The Lindisfarne Gospels. The opening of the Gospel according St. Matthew; c. 700



St. Mark writing his Gospel ; and the opening verses of the Gospel. York Minster Library ; c. 970–990

great festivals of the year, such as Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, Ascension Day and certain saints' days. The subjects of the pictures form a series from the life of Christ from the Annunciation (the visit of the Archangel Gabriel to the Virgin) to Pentecost, with figures of saints. It may be that Godeman wrote only the portion in gold letters. Nobody knows who painted the pictures. But it is certain that the whole work was carried out while Æthelwold was bishop of Winchester, that is, between the years 963 and 984, and probably not long after the year 970. The last picture in the book represents figures within the framework of the west end of a church, which has a bell-turret and pinnacles. The position and the perspective of the pinnacles are so curious that it is not easy to fit them into their proper places in the building. A new church finished in the year 980 replaced the church of the Old Minster which St. Swithun had founded more than three centuries earlier. This sketch may be a primitive attempt to represent the appearance of the new church. For centuries, until towards the end of the fifteenth century, no attempt was made to represent figures of people, or buildings, in true perspective.

Other illuminated manuscripts made at Winchester during the century preceding the Norman Conquest have survived, but none can compete in splendour with this treasure of the work of the Wessex scribe and his colleague, the Wessex painter.

While this revival of Christianity and its arts of building, writing and painting was taking place at Winchester, other places, such as the two religious houses at Canterbury, and monastic foundations at Durham, Bury St. Edmunds and Hereford, were sharing in the blessings of peace and quietness which had been rudely dispelled by the Danes.

It is not surprising that, during the period when English national life was being revived under Alfred the Great, Winchester should have been chosen as the capital of the country. This choice could not have been made for all time. Winchester had none of the natural advantages of other cities such as London and York. It did not stand on a navigable river ; it was far removed, for those days, from the Continent of Europe, from which English culture was bound to benefit ; and it was not near enough to the other centres of local life. It is difficult, as we examine a modern map of this country, as we remember that the coast of Kent is only 21 miles distant from the coast of France, and as we see how naturally our railways and main roads radiate from London, to imagine any city other than London as the permanent capital of England. All that was needed for the change from Winchester to another capital city to be made was a king with the desire and the imagination to make the change. Such a king arose, nine centuries ago, in Edward the Confessor, king from 1042 to 1066. Born at Islip, in Oxfordshire, in or about the year 1004, Edward, surnamed " the Confessor " because of his deeply religious feeling, was the grandson, on his mother's side, of Richard, Duke of Normandy. When Sweyn, the Dane, was elected King of England in the year 1013, the young Edward and his mother, Emma, took refuge in Normandy. Even when, four years later, Emma became the wife of King Canute, the young English prince continued to live in Normandy. When, just before he became King of England in the year 1042, he returned to his native country at the age of about 37, he had spent two-thirds of his life in Normandy. Whilst he was there, the abbey church of Jumièges, on the Seine, about 25 miles west of Rouen, was rebuilt. At Jumièges he became acquainted with a young monk named Robert, whom he appointed

bishop of London in the year 1044, and six years afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. It was at Jumièges that Edward learned that love of the Christian faith which he never lost. It is probable that Canute, King of England from 1016 to 1042, had begun the building of the royal palace of Westminster hard by the grounds of the abbey. When he became king, Edward formed the plan of rebuilding the church of the monastery which may have existed at Westminster for four centuries. To this project he gave liberally—one-tenth of his substance, it is said, in gold, silver and all other possessions. It is also said that he decreed that the new abbey church, when finished, should "hereafter, and for ever, be the place of the king's constitution and consecration, and the repository of the imperial regalia". The church on which the pious king had showered his substance and his care was consecrated on December 28th, 1065. Eight days afterwards he died, and was buried before the high altar of his church. Parts of the church which he built have been found to be on the plan used in the rebuilding of the abbey church at Jumièges. More than that, he had begun the connection with Normandy which was completed by the Norman Conquest, and he had paved the way for the removal of the capital of this country from Winchester to London. Winchester was still the scene of occasional coronations, and there was still a royal palace there, but Westminster Palace, as the chief residence of English kings, was the place from which such important documents as royal letters-patent were issued; and, when Parliament began to meet chiefly at Westminster, the importance of Winchester declined. When the neighbouring cities of London and Westminster expanded and then met, London was spoken of as the capital of the country. But it must be remembered that even yet our monarchs have no residence in the city of

London, and that Westminster, and not, strictly speaking, London, is the seat of government.

The coming of the Normans brought changes in every department of English life. In the Church, Norman kings placed men of their own race in high and responsible positions, and they encouraged the re-building of great churches and the foundation of religious houses of the Benedictine Order. The result of this activity can still be seen all over the country, from Durham in the north to Canterbury and Winchester in the south, and from Norwich in the east to Hereford, Gloucester and Bristol in the west. Saxon churches were destroyed at important places such as York, not because the Normans were enemies of the Christian faith like the Danes, but because they despised the tiny Saxon churches and the men who had built them. In the great monasteries which they either founded or re-founded, they began or continued the practice of the twin arts of writing and painting. While some of the monks planned, cut and laid the stones, and carved in both wood and stone, others wrote and painted. By the middle of the twelfth century, at Canterbury, Westminster, St. Albans, Durham, Ely, Bury St. Edmunds, Peterborough, and a host of other places, the religious life in the new Norman monasteries was in full swing, and scribes and painters had learnt to be skilful in the kind of work which had produced, before their coming, the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Charter of King Edgar to New Minster and the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold. By the end of the thirteenth century, that is, within a-century-and-a-half of the Norman Conquest, Christian art in this country had been enriched with copies of the Bible and of separate books of the Bible, especially the Psalter and the Apocalypse (the Revelation of St. John), and with lives of saints, books of prayers, histories and religious books of various kinds. This

activity was centred almost wholly in the monasteries, where the books were made that were needed not only in the monastic churches and libraries but also in the neighbouring parish churches.

No small part of the skill which was lavished on these books was put into the writing and illumination of large copies of the Bible. As parish churches were built and endowed, there was less and less need for the monasteries to concern themselves with missionary work. The need, therefore, for copies of the Gospels was replaced by the need for large copies of the Bible in the monastic churches. At Canterbury, Winchester and Durham, these were produced on a large scale, in three or four volumes each, written on large folios, sometimes measuring 14 inches by 10, which, when bound, made very heavy books. Some of the copies were illuminated with pictures painted in the opening initial letters of the books. Of these handsome copies, many have been preserved in cathedral and other libraries of this country. The library of Durham Cathedral is rich in the possession of these early books. William of St. Carileph, bishop from 1081 to 1096, one of the builders of the monastic church (the present cathedral church), presented 39 books to the monastic library, 19 of which still remain at Durham. One of these is a large copy of the Bible in two volumes, though the first volume has disappeared. Another bishop of Durham, Hugh of Puiset (often wrongly written as *Pudsey*), also a great builder, bishop from 1153 to 1195, was the donor of books to the library. One of these, a magnificent copy of the Bible in four volumes, is one of the treasures of all time. Alas! Many of the "pretty pictures" which it contained were cut out just over two hundred years ago and given to some children to amuse them. Another splendid copy of the Bible, in three volumes, written towards the end of the twelfth century at Winchester, is now in the

cathedral library there. The opening initial letter of each book is handsomely illustrated with a picture which illustrates an incident in the subject-matter of the book. Initials which are decorated in this way are called " historiated " initials. On one of the pages there is a sketch of a battle between two armies in which the leader of one army is slain. His head falls to the ground as it is cut off by his rival, and his right arm is being severed near the shoulder. The head and the arm are represented in the right of the picture as hung up near the wall of Jerusalem.

But the finest of all Bible pictures is to be seen in a copy of the Bible, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, written at the end of the thirteenth century. It consists of a large capital I, the opening initial of the book of Genesis—*In principio* (In the beginning). This letter occupies the whole of the space between the two columns of writing, and the margins above and below. It contains 38 small pictures in miniature of the chief events in biblical history. From the Old Testament there are seven pictures of the Days of Creation, with six others of the Fall, Adam and Eve working, the murder of Abel, Noah sending the dove from the ark, the fall of Sodom, and the attempted sacrifice of Isaac. A picture of the Crucifixion comes next, to be followed by 24 pictures from the childhood, the Passion and the Resurrection, of Christ. This is one of the most remarkable pictures in the whole range of the pictorial art of the middle ages.

The books of which we are thinking in this chapter may be regarded as, in no small degree, picture-books. While those that were written for use in churches were valued also for their contents, those that were intended for lay people, not many of whom were able to read them, attracted them because of the pictures with which they were adorned. Frequently, such books, which were very

costly, were given as presents by kings and noblemen to their ladies. A lovely psalter of the early part of the fourteenth century, now in the British Museum, is always called, after its owner, the Psalter of Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II, because it was given to her by the king on their marriage in the year 1308.

There was one book which, in proportion to its size, gave the painter more scope for his imagination than any other without requiring him to depart from the subject-matter of the story. That book is the Apocalypse—the book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. It became popular in this country just before the end of the twelfth century, and was ousted from the popular favour by the Psalter, but only after a century or more during which many scores, if not hundreds, of copies must have been made. The pictures in some of the copies which have survived are not of very great merit. In them, the colouring matter consists only of a light "flat" wash. At its best, however, the Apocalypse was one of the most attractive picture-books in the world. As a rule, the pictures, between 71 and 91 in number, are painted in oblong frames on the upper parts of the pages. Below, often in French, the verses which the pictures illustrate are written in two parallel columns, with a few notes or a commentary in Latin. The most beautiful copy of all those that have come down to us is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It was probably written for Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, and is the kind of present a king might well have made to his bride. The place where it was produced can only be guessed at. As the pictures were the work of three painters, the monastery which was responsible for it must have possessed a fair-sized *scriptorium*, that is, a room set apart for the writing and the painting of manuscripts. Various suggestions have been made of the place where it might have

been written, such as St. Albans, Westminster, and Salisbury. In any case, wherever the book was made, it is of English workmanship, and good at that.

Of the English copies of the Apocalypse which have survived, 46 in number, 13 are at the British Museum, 11 at Cambridge, 5 at Oxford, 3 at Lambeth Palace and 7 in private ownership.

The reign of Henry III was an important period in the history of English art. Like his predecessor of two centuries earlier, he rebuilt the abbey church of Westminster and removed the remains of Edward the Confessor to a new shrine which still exists behind the high altar. Henry also encouraged other forms of ecclesiastical art, including painting. The walls of his new hall at Westminster, like those of his new church, were decorated with paintings. It was the king's " beloved master William ", an Englishman, who painted a series of pictures of saints on the walls of the abbey church, though only one now remains, that of St. Faith in the chapel which, dedicated in her honour, is still in regular use. Under Henry III, Westminster became a hive of industry in the production of lovely things for his hall and his church. Masons, carpenters, wood-carvers, metal-workers, scribes and painters were imported from abroad to work not only at Westminster but also at such places as Canterbury and Rochester. Yet St. Albans, only 20 miles from London, did not welcome a single foreign artist or craftsman. In 1259, the king issued an order to " pay out of our treasury to Odo, the goldsmith, and Edward, his son, 117*s.* 10*d.*, for oil, varnish and colours bought, and colours made, for the chamber of our queen at Westminster ". Odo was doubtless of Norman extraction. Other painters employed by Henry III came from France, Italy and Spain. The king loved the ecclesiastical art of France. On one of his visits to Paris, he spent a large part of his

time in the lovely Gothic churches there. The graceful church of Sainte Chapelle, built in 1248 by Louis IX (St. Louis) to enshrine the Crown of Thorns, was, to him, so beautiful, with its lovely windows, exquisite carvings of angels and attractive wall-paintings, that he is said to have expressed the wish that he could " carry it off in a cart ". The same kind of devotion that St. Louis gave to Sainte Chapelle was given by Henry III to Westminster Abbey, and to Westminster Hall with its " painted chamber ", the walls of which were covered with paintings. It was fitting that on his death in 1272 he should be buried in the church to which he had given of his best. His patronage of the arts made the thirteenth century famous in this country for Early English architecture and lovely paintings on church walls and in manuscripts. Upwards of one-hundred beautifully illuminated manuscripts made in England in this century have survived, a number not equalled by those that have come down to us from any other century.

By no means all the figures in the illuminated books with which this chapter deals, however, can be called either beautiful or natural. The margins of books written from the thirteenth century onwards abound with curious figures, which, it is obvious, were to some extent born of the imagination of the men who painted them. Almost every ancient church possesses, in stone or in wood, grotesque carvings of similar creatures of the imagination. Sometimes they form gargoyles, that is, projecting stone water-spouts carved with these queer monstrosities. In woodwork, similar carvings are often found under the seats of the stalls once occupied by clergy attached to the churches in which these stalls were placed. Much of the time occupied by the recitation of the long offices in which every priest was obliged to join had to be spent in a standing position. To avoid

fatigue, it was permitted to the clergy to turn up the seats of their stalls, as a seat in a theatre or a cinema may be " tipped up " when it is not occupied, and to rest on them while they were still standing. The under parts of these seats were usually carved with grotesque figures and scenes, and the seat itself was called a " misericord ", that is, a seat which enabled a little " mercy " or indulgence to be shewn to its occupant during long and frequent periods of standing. Misericords still exist in many churches in this country. They are found of all periods from the middle of the thirteenth century to the time of the Restoration.

Where did the idea of these carvings come from? They took the form of animals, fabled and real, romantic tales, common scenes, sports, satires and even nursery rhymes, such as :

> Hey, diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle;
> The cow jumped over the moon.

Those which represent natural life need no explanation It is otherwise with the animals whose forms are found

Until modern times, not only was exact knowledge limited in extent, but also people were extremely credulous and would believe almost anything. The stories of travellers who returned from distant parts of the world were believed, however strange they might be. The origin of these curious and imaginary carvings is to be found far back in history. Amongst the Greeks as far back as the fifth century, and amongst the Romans almost as early, books began to be written about beasts and birds, some of which are mentioned in the Bible, some of which nobody might ever have seen, but from which moral lessons could be drawn. The lion, the antelope, the onager (a wild ass), the wolf, the panther, the elephant, the serpent, the viper, and the pelican—these were

animals the existence and the habits of which were well known. But imaginary and legendary creatures were added to the list, such as the dragon, the salamander, the caladrius, the phœnix, the centaur, and the satyr. The wonders of creation were regarded by the medieval mind as boundless. No creature, even of the imagination, could be too strange and fearful to be believed in ; no stories told about these creatures were too unlikely to be credited.

Acting on the text in the book of Job (xii. 7) : " Ask now the beasts and they shall teach thee, and the fowls of the air and they shall tell thee ", the writers of the books known as *bestiaries* compiled natural histories on this plan. First, a biblical text was chosen which referred to an animal. Then followed a moral lesson : " Well, therefore, did the Physiologus speak "—the Physiologus being the natural historian who was supposed to have compiled the earliest list of these creatures and the stories attached to them. Here is an example based on the book of Job (iv. 11) :

> Eliphaz, king of the Temanites, said that the ant-lion perished because it had no food. Physiologus said : " It had the face, or the forepart, of a lion, and the hinder parts of an ant. Its father eats flesh, but its mother eats grains. If then they engender the ant-lion, they engender a thing of two natures, such that it cannot eat flesh because of the nature of its mother, nor grains because of the nature of its father. It perishes, therefore, because it has no nutriment. So is every double-minded man unstable in all his ways."

Habits of other creatures, some real, some imaginary, were easily used to teach moral and religious lessons. For example, in his cunning a fox resembles the devil ; because the salamander, a species of lizard, was supposed to be insensible to fire, he represents the Christian who is untouched by the fires of temptation ; when a crocodile

which has swallowed a man is forced to vomit him up again, here is a type of the grave, which cannot keep prisoner the Lord of life ; the turning of Christ from the Jews to the Gentiles is illustrated by the habit of the caladrius, a bird which turns its head towards a sick man who will recover, and away from him if he is going to die ; when the phœnix comes to life again after its nest has been burnt, this means that death finally ends in the Resurrection ; as an elephant with a load on its back cannot rise to its feet without help, so Adam could not shake off the load of sin until " a second Adam to the fight and to the rescue came ". All this sounds, and indeed is, far-fetched and strained. But, as with most of the picture-books of the middle ages, the Bestiary was prized, not for its text but for its pictures. Upwards of 40 English copies still exist, chiefly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of which 11 are at the British Museum, 10 at Oxford, and 9 at Cambridge. Of all medieval books, the Bestiary is the least studied. It enjoyed popularity for about a century, but, through gargoyles, carvings in wood and curious marginal figures in manuscripts, is still remembered.

Long before the end of the thirteenth century, another kind of book was becoming popular, and for more than one reason. This was the Psalter. The Psalms have always been the best-known and best-loved of the books of the Old Testament. Said or sung now in the regular order of the worship of the Church of England once every month, the psalms were recited in the middle ages once every week. Portions of the psalter were included in all the services at the seven " canonical " hours, that is, the seven hours for services appointed by the " rule " (Greek *kanon*) of the Church. David, the reputed author of all the psalms, was always regarded as a hero in the fight against evil. Did he not, as a stripling, slay the giant ?

Was he not persecuted by Saul? Was he not, too, a cunning player on the harp? And, last but not least, was not Christ "the Son of David"? David's book, therefore, was to be treasured as part of himself. By the middle of the thirteenth century, copies of the psalter began to be made for the use of lay people. There had never been a time in the history of writing and illumination in this country when copies of the psalter had not been written. One of the first copies was written at Canterbury (Christ Church) about the middle of the twelfth century, by a scribe named Eadwine (see Chapter III). This was only one of a large number of very beautifully written and illuminated copies produced between the Norman Conquest and the Black Death, of which nearly 70 of the finest still survive. Scores of others exist which, because they are not illuminated, at any rate richly, are not as well known as their more handsome fellows. And scores more must have perished. From the beginning of the art of writing and painting in this country, the psalter was always popular. At first, the psalms are found almost alone in the book, with the addition sometimes of some songs from the Bible. As time went on, the contents of psalters were added to in other ways which will be described.

From very early times, a collection of the biblical songs and hymns of the Church, called *canticles*, i.e., songs, were regarded as part of the Church's treasury of song worthy to be ranked with the Psalms of David. These consisted of all the other songs which, like the psalms, were sung at the daily services of the Church when there was a body of singers to sing them. If there was no choir, but only a single priest, these songs, like the psalms, were said. And, like the psalms, they were spread over the offices of the Church so that, during each week, while some were said or sung every day, none of them were

omitted during each whole week's course of prayer and praise. The psalms and the canticles, therefore, were gathered together in the Church's great " hymn-book ", much as hymns are now printed with Prayer Books in one volume so that for any and every occasion suitable ones can be chosen.

But the copies of the psalter as it was finally produced during the first half of the fourteenth century contained more than this. No copy was complete without the calendar of the Church's year, divided into months and indicating the numerous feast-days which fell in each month. These days were marked in various ways to show their importance. The names of the minor saints were written in ordinary black ink. The names of the more important saints and of the great festivals were shewn at least in red, and in the best copies with the adornment of gold leaf. Following the last of the canticles came a litany, a long series of petitions first to the Persons of the Trinity and then to a number of saints, each of the latter being followed by the short prayer : *Ora pro nobis* (Pray for us). Other prayers followed. The psalter thus became a complete guide to the Church's seasons and a book of devotion. Until the late fourteenth century, when another kind of prayer book became popular, the " Book of Hours ", the pious lay folk who could afford to buy psalters were content to use them as their daily books for private worship.

These books were made chiefly for rich people who could afford to pay for the skill of the best writers and painters. The psalter gave scope for the imagination and the skill of these men. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, laymen, who set up their own workshops, began to compete with monks in their own province. Sometimes they made books " to order ". Or they produced them in the hope of selling them to

any customers, even monastic houses, who might be tempted to buy them. They were able to sell their "wares" without difficulty. For these books were amongst the most beautiful books which have ever been produced. The scheme of pictures varied, but, in general, was as follows :

(1) The calendar. The signs of the Zodiac in the upper margins ; occupations suitable to the months in the lower.

(2) A "picture-gallery" of several pages between the calendar and the beginning of the psalms. This sometimes consisted of scenes from the life of Christ, or of prophets and apostles in pairs. Each apostle holds a scroll on which is written the clause of the Apostles' Creed which he was believed to have composed. The corresponding prophet holds a scroll on which is written the text which was regarded as foretelling the event stated on the apostle's scroll. For example, the prophet Isaiah's scroll contained the words : "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son", while the apostle's scroll read : "Born of the Virgin Mary". An early fourteenth-century psalter written and painted at Peterborough, and now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, contains a very fine series of figures of twelve prophets and twelve apostles arranged in this way.

(3) A very beautifully decorated *Beatus* page, that is, the page at which the psalter opens with the words : *Beatus vir* (Blessed is the man).

(4) Similar, but not always equally beautiful, ornamented pages at the beginning of the psalms at which the psalter is divided into parts for division amongst the daily services. These pages often

contain small pictures of events from the life of David or Joseph which are painted in the initials of the opening words of the psalms.

(5) Similarly illuminated initials at the beginning of the biblical songs and the canticles of the Church.

In a book in the library of York Minster written in the twelfth century, there is an account of the composition of Apostle's Creed which, translated into English, runs as follows :

> On the tenth day after the Ascension, when the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, the Lord sent the promised Paraclete. . . . Peter said, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth. Andrew said, And in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord. James the Greater said, Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary. John said, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried. Thomas said, He descended into hell ; the third dayHe rose again from the dead. James the Less said, He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. Philip said, From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Bartholomew said, I believe in the Holy Ghost. Matthew said, the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of saints. Simon said, The forgiveness of sins. Thaddeus said, The resurrection of the flesh. Matthias said, And the life everlasting.

In addition to the contents of the psalter which have been summarised above, long litanies were found, followed by prayers. Many of the pages have lovely illuminations in some of the opening initials, and also in the margins, which are often almost completely filled with ornamentation in leaf forms and with grotesque figures of the kind which have been referred to earlier in this chapter. No other book produced during the middle ages was more completely and attractively illuminated than the psalter. These lovely books, which became popular towards the end of the thirteenth cen-

Eadwine, the Scribe, at work on his Psalter. Canterbury Psalter, Trinity College, Cambridge; middle of the twelfth century

Matthew Paris, painter and historian, prostrate before the Virgin and Child, from his "Historia Anglorum." British Museum; middle of the thirteenth century

tury, were being produced in various parts of the country. Then, quite suddenly, and for no reason that has yet been given, the religious houses of East Anglia took the lead over the rest of the country in the writing and the painting of psalters. Of about thirty of these handsome books, two-thirds came from the East Anglian religious houses at Peterborough, Ely, Ramsey, Bury St. Edmunds, Norwich, Gorleston and other places that cannot be identified. Others were written at Durham and London, and one was made for a lady who lived in the north of England. Four of the best of these books came from the coast of East Anglia, within a few miles of Great Yarmouth. Two of these saw the light at what was then the small town of Gorleston. This place possessed three religious houses :

(1) the priory of St. Augustine, of which nothing is now left save a few fragments of stonework, and which used to have a very good library ;
(2) the Franciscan priory of St. Andrew, the church of which is now the parish church of Gorleston ; and
(3) the hospital of St. Mary and St. Nicholas.

Both the psalters may have been produced at the priory of St. Andrew. One met a sad fate during the war of 1914 to 1918. For many years it had been preserved at Douai, in France. To protect it from destruction on the advance of the German army in August, 1914, it was buried in the earth, only to be found, after the war, to have been ruined by damp. The other was the gift of Thomas, vicar of Gorleston, to John of Aylestoun, who became abbot of Hulme, Norfolk, in the year 1325. One scholar who saw them both side by side was of the opinion that they were illuminated by painters who worked together in the same workshop. This psalter, which is always known as the Gorleston

psalter, is now in private ownership. A page at the end of the book contains a simple and lovely Latin hymn of five four-line verses.

The most magnificent book made during the first half of the fourteenth century has been called Queen Mary's psalter, from the chance that came to a customs official, named Baldwin Smith, to prevent it from being smuggled out of the country during the reign of Mary Tudor, to whom he presented it. It remained in the royal library until George II presented the contents of this library to the new museum founded towards the end of his reign and known the world over as the British Museum. A very good judge has described the psalter as "that veritable queen amongst illuminated manuscripts". This praise is entirely deserved. The illuminations are far more numerous and varied than are to be seen in any other illuminated book produced in this country. A psalter known as the Tickhill psalter, from the name of the writer and chief painter, John Tickhill, prior of a monastic house at Worksop from 1303 to 1314, contains nearly 500 pictures, chiefly of the life of David. This book is one of the treasures of the Public Library of New York City. But Queen Mary's psalter easily puts the Tickhill psalter into the shade. The scheme of illuminations, which include lovely ornamentations of almost every conceivable kind, is as follows:

(1) 223 outline drawings of Old Testament subjects from Creation to the death of Solomon;
(2) several pages, beginning with a tree of Jesse (containing the "family tree", which grows out of the body of Jesse, the father of David), and ending with our Lord, and a series of groups of New Testament families and of apostles and prophets with their scrolls;

(3) 24 calendar illustrations, two of each month, twelve of which represent occupations suitable to the months of the year, and the other twelve the signs of the Zodiac—the last-named being easily learnt by heart as follows :

> The ram, the bull, the heavenly twins,
> And, next, the crab ; the lion shines ;
> The virgin and the scales.
> The scorpion, archer and he-goat,
> The man that bears the watering-pot,
> And fish with glittering tails.

(4) coloured paintings of events in the life of Christ scattered about the text of the psalter, and others at the beginning of each of the canticles ;
(5) 16 coloured pictures of saints on the pages on which the litany is written ;
(6) 464 drawings in outline and a light wash, in the lower margins below the psalms and the litany;
(7) more than 200 marginal pictures, also in outline and a light wash, making a bestiary ;
(8) 56 similar drawings of the life, the death and the miracles of the Virgin Mary ;
(9) about 160 similar drawings which illustrate lives of saints.

A book that contains more than 1000 pictures, many of them beautifully coloured, is indeed amongst the most remarkable books of all time. Who painted these pictures, and where did he work ? They were the work of one man, his *magnum opus* or great work, probably the work of his life. But his name and the whereabouts of his workshop will probably never be known. It has been suggested, with much reason, that he was a lay-man, not a monk. One who had lived in a monastery since his " profession " (as it is called) as a monk could not have drawn the numerous sketches of ordinary life

and people and of their ordinary pastimes and dress. Yet, like most of his fellow-painters, he was content to remain nameless. He was one of the greatest artists that the world has ever seen.

About the year 1340, the neighbourhood of East Anglia produced the psalter which is the latest surviving example of its work. Known as the Luttrell psalter, it was bought by the British Museum, by subscription, in the year 1930. In spite of a large amount of the wildest extravagance in the way of the grotesque figures, it is one of the most precious of national possessions, and it contains one of the loveliest pictures in the whole range of English illumination. This picture shows Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, of Irnham, Lincolnshire, on horseback, a splendid figure in full armour. Standing by his horse are figures of his wife, Agnes, and his daughter-in-law, the wife of his son, Andrew. It might have been expected that, if Sir Geoffrey had owned the psalter, it would have been mentioned in his will. But the will is silent about it. It may be that the work on the book proceeded so slowly that Sir Geoffrey cancelled his order for it; or it may be that when he saw the mockery of illumination towards the end of the book he refused to pay for it. These points will probably never be settled. The manuscript is in its proper place at the British Museum, seeing that the marginal illuminations represent many common things in the life of the first half of the fourteenth century. These include representations of a leech bleeding a patient, a dog jumping through a hoop which is held by a bishop, the execution of Thomas of Lancaster in 1322, a wrestling match, a lady at her toilet, a performing horse, a hunting scene, a fox stalking a goose, an acrobat holding a lady on his shoulders while he dances, a performing monkey, a knight in combat with a Saracen, bear-baiting, a ship of war,

a sheep-pen, Constantinople walled like an English town, various agricultural operations, games of many kinds, a coach for royal ladies to travel in, and the stages of a banquet from kitchen to dining-room, where a mournful company appear to be enjoying neither the food nor one another's company.

Unless the date of a manuscript is stated in the manuscript or elsewhere, or unless the date can be arrived at by other means, only an approximate date can be attached to it, which depends on such things as the style of the writing. After the Luttrell Psalter, no illustrated manuscript has survived which can be dated much earlier than the year 1370. The plague known as the Black Death is usually regarded as the reason for this gap of about thirty years. This scourge, which carried off about one-third of the population of this country, put a stop to everything except works of necessity. There were fewer people to produce and buy things, and many had less money to spend on them, than before. At York, the work of rebuilding the great church known as the Minster ceased for about twelve years after the Black Death. In East Anglia, the school of painters, which had shewn signs of having passed its best, disappeared altogether. When the art did revive in this country it revived elsewhere, and it is very difficult to attribute the manuscripts to definite places. For some years, also, the best manuscripts which were produced were miscellaneous in character. Yet, during the thirty years or more between the revival of the art and the end of the fourteenth century, upwards of a dozen books were written and painted which are amongst the very best of their kind. At the same time, Wyclif and others were translating the Bible into English, a monument of patience and devotion and an example of the triumph of English over Latin.

The chief examples of the art of writing and painting during the second half of the fourteenth century are a magnificent Bible, and several service-books and psalters. The Bible is a monster in size, one of the largest manuscripts ever written. The pages measure $24\frac{5}{8}$ inches by 17. The text, which is beautifully written, is that known as the Vulgate, the translation of Jerome from the ancient versions into Latin which he finished early in the fifth century. As with the copies of the Bible to which reference has been made on pages 29–30, this copy is ornamented and illuminated with beautiful miniatures in the opening initial letters of the first word of each book. Jerome's introduction to each book, which is included in the text, is the occasion for numerous pictures of him sitting at his desk writing his Bible. Many of the paintings shew, above the desk, a cupboard well stocked with books. This Bible is known as King Richard II's Bible, though it may not have been intended for the king's own use, but for use in one of the royal chapels. It was probably unfinished when Richard was deposed from the throne.

The service-books include two missals, a Gospel book and a music-book, all of them beautifully written and illuminated. The missals were made for Westminster Abbey and Sherborne Abbey. The former is in the library of Westminster Abbey, the latter in the library of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle. Some interesting information about the former will be found in Chapter III, on page 75. The Gospel book, which is in the British Museum, is a fragment of only seventeen leaves, all that is left of a large book which contained the Gospels as said or sung during the Mass. This book has as its frontispiece a picture of the presentation of the book to John, 5th Lord Lovel, for whom the book was made, by the illuminator, John Siferwas,

the artist of the Sherborne Missal. Lord Lovel, indeed, had the book made for use in the abbey church of Sherborne, Dorset.

The music-book belongs to the parish church of Ranworth, a village between Norwich and Great Yarmouth. It is made of the finest and most flexible sheepskin, and eighteen of its pages are beautifully illuminated. It was written early in the fifteenth century at the abbey of Langley, Norfolk, and became the property of the parish church of Ranworth about the middle of the fifteenth century. It disappeared from the church about a century afterwards, during the Reformation, and was not heard of again until it was noticed amongst the books advertised for sale when a collection of rare manuscripts and early printed books was dispersed in the year 1911. Enough money was raised to restore it to the church of Ranworth, where it is seen every year by hundreds of people on holiday in the district known as the Norfolk Broads. The book is an Antiphoner, a service-book, that is, which contains the music to be sung to those parts of the daily offices which were not taken from Holy Scripture.

No account of the service-books which were written in the second half of the fourteenth century is complete which omits a reference to the Coronation Book in the library of Westminster Abbey. It may have been written for the coronation of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. One of the two pictures in the book represents the actual ceremony of a coronation, and there are those who think that the two royal figures may be actual portraits of Richard II and Anne.

The psalters of the late fourteenth century will be referred to in Chapter III.

With the fifteenth century and the campaigns in France of the last phase of the Hundred Years' War,

the production of illuminated service-books and copies of the Holy Scriptures in this country began to decline. By this time, the wants of the monasteries, the cathedrals, the parish churches and the well-to-do lay patrons were well supplied. The visits to France of scores of English officers of rank and wealth gave them a taste for those lovely books of devotion for the laity known as *Primers* or *Books of Hours*. Many of these were written in France during the fifteenth century, some of them adorned with pictures which were most delicately and beautifully painted. The most lovely and magnificent of these books is known as the Bedford Book of Hours, which belonged to John, Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V, and regent of France till his death in the year 1435. The book had as one of its painters " Herman your meek servant ", the painter of another lovely book, *The Hours of Elizabeth the Quene*, now in private ownership.

This lovely book was one of two that shewed the interest in the making of beautiful books on the part of a noble family. Both Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, who died in the year 1445, and his wife, Cicely Neville, owned copies of the book of hours of English workmanship, Henry's copy containing also the psalms. It is not known where either of the books was written and painted. Later on, the copy that belonged to Cicely passed into the ownership of Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII, whose name is written on one of the illuminated pages : *Elisabeth ye quene.* Because of this, the book is always known as *The Hours of Elizabeth the Quene.* Both books are most beautifully illuminated ; and, even though the borders are not as delicately painted as those of the best French books of the fifteenth century, they are treasures of the first order, the one that belonged to Cicely being regarded as the most beautiful illuminated manuscript of the fifteenth century.

It is seldom that English is met with in medieval books. Occasionally, on fly-leaves, it is found in the handwriting of an early owner of a book. But it seldom appears in the book itself. An example of the free use of the English tongue is found in a book of hours in the library of York Minster. This book was written about the middle of the fifteenth century for use by somebody who lived in the diocese of York. English is used at the very beginning of the book. For a few lines, it is used alternately with Latin, which is written in red ink, but for three whole pages little Latin is found. This is how the prayers begin :

> Lorde, undo my lyppis Jhu. Heuen Kyng
> And my mouth sall say yt loueyng.

This is a free translation of the Latin in the next line :

> *Domine labia mea aperies, et os meum et cetera.*
> (O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth, etc.)

Then follows :

> God y^{n} be my help at my begynyng
> And me to help y^{n} ye hy' at my endyng
> [Then a line of Latin.]
> Joy unto fader and y^{e} son ; and ye haly gost in heuen,
> Y^{t} was at y^{e} begynnyng and euer es in heuen.
> [Then *Gloria patri* in Latin (*Glory be to the Father*, etc.), of which the two previous lines are a free translation into English.]

The use of this most attractive English continues for three pages, and is found later in the book, though not in the offices or services themselves, for at this time the introduction of the English language would not have been encouraged. Here is a prayer to St. Helen, mother of

the Emperor Constantine, who decreed that Christianity should be tolerated in the Roman Empire :

> Saint Elene i ye pray
> To helpe me at my last day,
> To sette ye crosse and his passione
> Betwix my synful saule and dome.
> Now and in ye house of my dede,
> And bryng my soule to requied.

This book is not known as well as it ought to be. It contains some very good pictures of Christ and His Apostles, and the gold leaf is very well preserved.

Illuminated books of other kinds now began to be produced. For the first time, what may be called general literature and knowledge attracted those who wished to possess beautiful books. Chaucer's poem, *Troilus and Cresside*, was copied and illuminated. It opens with the words :

> The double sorwe of Troilus to tellen
> That was the king Priamus' sone of Troye,
> In loving how his aventures fellen
> Fro wo to wele, and after out of joye,
> My purpose is, or that I parte fro ye.

This book, which is one of the treasures of the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has a magnificent frontispiece which represents Chaucer addressing, from a square pulpit, a group of fashionably dressed ladies and gentlemen, one of the latter being a prince ; on a hill, above this group, there is another group of people—amongst them a crowned lady—who are emerging from a magnificent castle.

The interest in worlds which up to then were mere names was stimulated by the story of the travels of Marco Polo, contained in *The Books of the Great Khan.* Marco Polo, who was born at Venice in the middle of the thirteenth century and died in the year 1324, was the most

intrepid traveller of his day, a day when to travel abroad meant to take the greatest of all risks. He came of a family of adventurers, for his father, in pursuit of trade, had lived at Constantinople and in the Crimea. To him were born three sons, of whom the youngest, Marco, was stirred as a boy of fifteen with the stories of the travels of his two brothers to Cathay, or China, and the court of the Great Khan Kublai.

> In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
> A stately pleasure-home decree,
> Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
> Through caverns measureless to man
> Down to a sunless sea.

So wrote Samuel Taylor Coleridge of the Great Khan. Their mother having died, the two Polo brothers set out on their travels again, taking with them the young Marco. When Kublai saw Marco, he at once took him to his heart and eventually sent him on missions to the Tibetan border, and to northern Burma, Karakorum, Cochin China, and southern India. On his return to Venice, he was taken prisoner by the Genoese during a war between the rival ports of Venice and Genoa ; and whilst in a Genoese prison he was persuaded by a fellow-prisoner, Rusticiano of Pisa, to tell him the story of his adventures. Thus came into being one of the first books of travels, written in French. A copy of this book reached England towards the end of the fourteenth century. Its contents stimulated the imagination of an English painter, who added to it several pictures and wrote his name on one of them :—*Johannes me fecit* (John made me). One of the finest pictures shows the city of Venice, with magnificent buildings and a long harbour side, through which a stream runs under a bridge. Below, in the picture, is the sea, with boats and vessels and a representation of an opposite shore to give an idea of the foreign countries

visited by Marco. One of these is inhabited by wild beasts. Other, though smaller, pictures shew Marco making a gift to the Great Khan, and the visit of the Magi to the Holy Child. These pictures are very beautiful indeed, and reveal a knowledge of perspective which the earlier artists did not possess. This lovely book is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

In days before knowledge became so vast that it had to be divided into, as it were, compartments, such subjects as geography and astronomy and geology were grouped under the heading of cosmography. One of the earliest books on this general subject was written by John Foxton and was presented to the monastery of St. Robert of Knaresborough, near Harrogate, in the year 1408. It contains sketches of the sun and the planets in human form. It is now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Other literary works of which copies were written and illuminated during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century include scenes from the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, poems by Thomas Occleve, who died about the middle of the fifteenth century, and a French book, *The Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophers*, which was translated into English and printed by William Caxton in the year 1477. (See page 109.) These were all illuminated in one way or another. The last-named contained a portrait of Edward IV, a very early example of portraiture.

So ends our short story of the rise and the fall of two of the most attractive arts of all time, those of beautiful writing and lovely paintings of miniatures. Far too little is known by people in general of these national treasures. For their pictures alone they are worth knowing about. A very large proportion of those that have survived the changes brought about by the Reformation and by a

failure to recognise good things are preserved at the British Museum and at Oxford and Cambridge. It is unfortunate that, when any of these books are exhibited in show-cases, not more than two pages can be seen, for numbers of equally rare pictures in the same books are hiding their glories. It is equally unfortunate that we know the names of very few of the writers and the painters, and that it is almost as rare to know where the books were made. But we have these treasures, and the day is long past when they were not properly cared for. The demand for them was killed by the invention of printing, the story of which is told in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

SCRIBES, ARTISTS AND PATRONS

THE story which has just been told has been about the books written by hand and painted with illuminations which "light up" their pages. For the greater part of a thousand years these were the only books which were being produced in this country or anywhere else. As we have seen, it is by no means certain where many of these books were written, except that, until the end of the thirteenth century, none of them came from outside monastic houses. We are now going to learn about some of the men who wrote and painted them, the way in which they worked, and the people for whom they were written.

What is known about the writers of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold has been told in the last chapter. We now make a jump of about a century-and-a-half from the time when the Benedictional was produced to a picture, which was drawn nearly eight hundred years ago, of a man writing a book. Not many pictures of this kind have come down to us, and we know the names of very few men who were the actual writers of books. As might be expected in days when schools were far fewer in number than they are now, those who were taught the art of writing were very fortunate. Most of them were monks. But the monks were usually teachers, not only of the Christian faith but also of the arts, such as writing, painting pictures in books, building and music. In time, therefore, here and there, a layman became so well educated that he could write and paint and build and sing as well as any monk. This time did not come, however, until towards the four-

teenth century. In the twelfth century, when this picture was painted and when the book that contains it was written, all books of this kind were made—written, painted and bound—in religious houses or monasteries, and by monks.

The monk who wrote and painted the pictures in this book very obligingly tells us, in this picture, his name. He was Eadwine, or, as his name would now be spelt, Edwin, a monk of the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, the foundation which is now represented by Canterbury Cathedral. He is copying a psalter, the collection of the psalms, from a copy of the psalms written perhaps three hundred years earlier in this country. This copy was lost sight of, when the monasteries were dissolved, for nearly a century, when it went to the library of Sir Robert Cotton, and was presented to the library of the University of Utrecht in the year 1718. It is there still. As we heard in the last chapter, for about eighty years, from 1260 to 1340, many magnificent copies of the psalter were written in England, and were beautifully illuminated with pictures in gold and other colours. Eadwine's psalter, however, has a picture, though not in such attractive colours, at the beginning of each psalm. The poetry of some of the psalms is interpreted literally, with quaint effect. Let us take two examples :

(1) Psalm 97 : " The Lord is King, the earth may be glad thereof; yea, the multitude of the isles may be glad thereof. There shall go a fire before Him, and burn up His enemies on every side. The hills shall melt like wax."

The picture above the psalm is in an oblong frame coloured red. Seated on a cloud at the top of the picture, the figure of the Lord is seen in an oval frame painted above and below, supported by

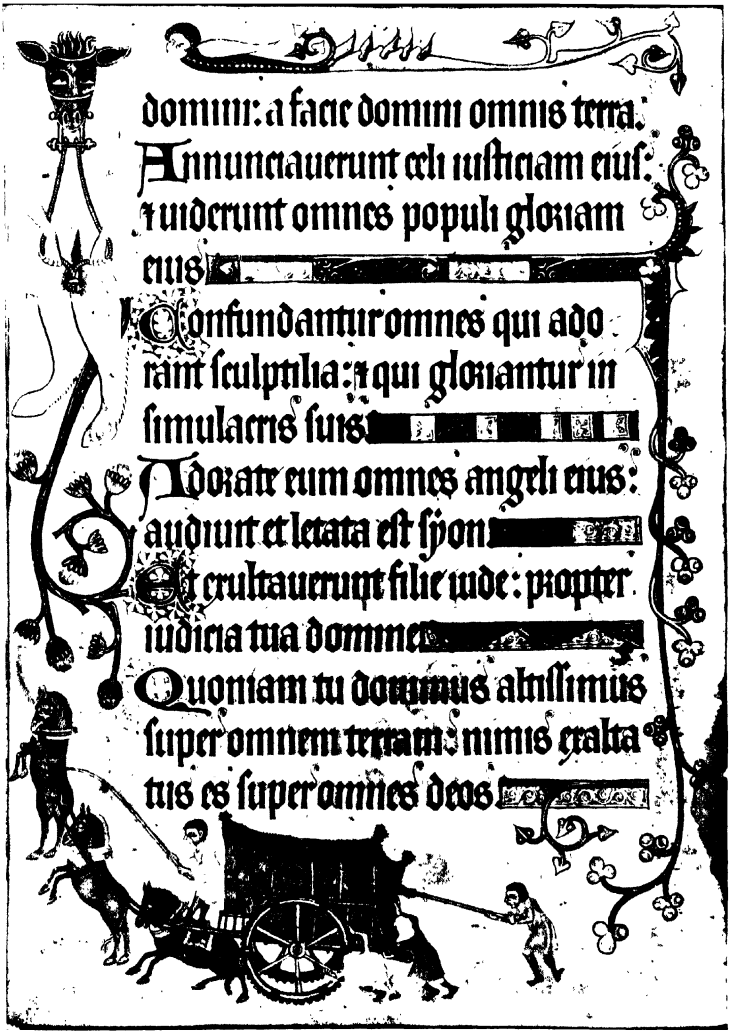
Justice holding the scales in which souls are weighed at the Last Judgment, and by several angels. Below, there is a stretch of mainland for the earth, on which men and women stand in a posture of adoration. At the foot of the picture is the sea, coloured with blue stripes, in which are set three islands with groups of people standing on them, adoring and worshipping God. On the right, flames of fire devour the enemies of the Lord, and are about to burn a tall tower on which stand two other enemies. In the meantime, the hills melt "like wax at the presence of the Lord".

(2) Psalm 150: "O praise God in His holiness."

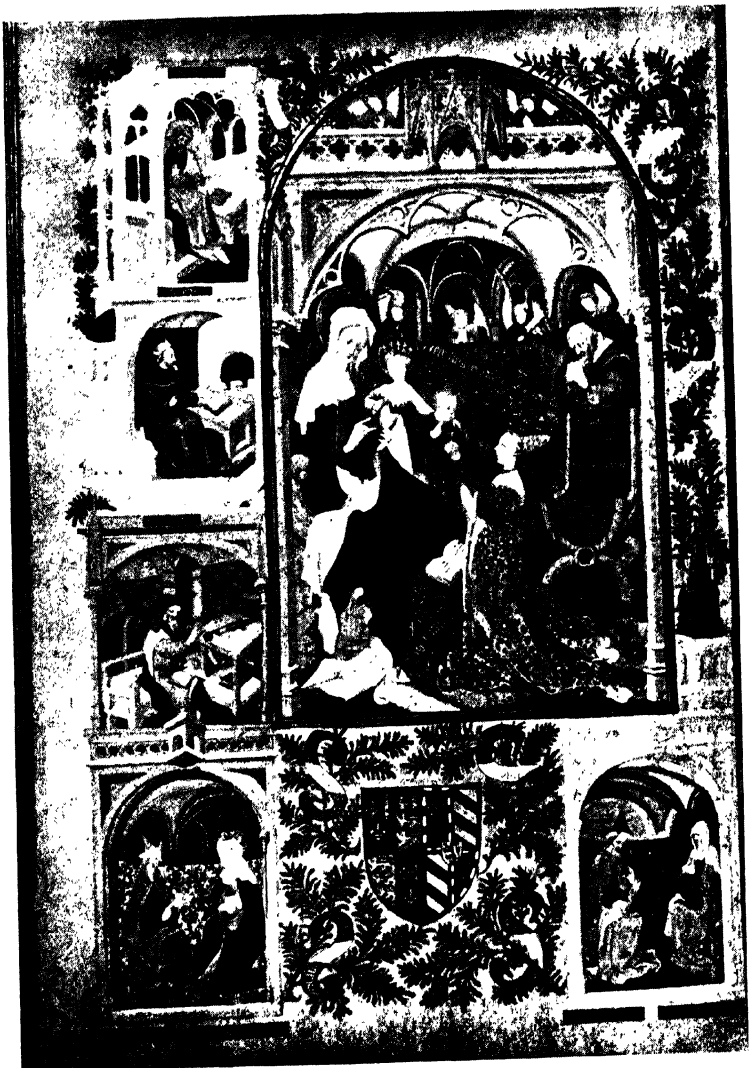
Christ, on a cloud, is supported by six angels. Below the cloud, instrumentalists play on instruments—trumpet, lute, harp, strings and pipe. Four men supply wind to the bellows of an organ, while the two organists lean over the pipes of the organ and apparently address the blowers.

The detail in the picture is remarkable. It is a tribute to the imagination of the artist of the original psalter, and to the patience and the skill of Eadwine.

Let us now look more closely at the picture of the scribe as he writes. We already know something about the kind of ink which scribes used in the middle ages. It was "home-made". The pen which Eadwine is using is a quill, formed out of the long feather of a goose or a swan or a crow by cutting it slantwise with a sharp knife to make a nib. This kind of nib had to bend far more easily than a steel or a gold nib so as to make the thick strokes and the large letters of which many of the words are formed. His knife, which can be seen in his left hand, was used to scrape the parchment when it was too smooth or too greasy to hold the ink. Thus Eadwine



Luttrell Psalter. Psalm 97, end of verse 5 to end of verse 9.
In the lower margin, a harvest-cart laden with sheaves of corn, the wheels being spiked for an uphill journey.
In the left-hand margin, one of the many grotesque figures found in the book. c. 1340



The Duchess of Bedford worshipping the Virgin and Child, the Book of Hours open before her. Bedford Book of Hours, British Museum; early fifteenth century

is seen intent on the long task of copying, on nearly 600 large pages, the whole of the psalms. The pages of this book of Eadwine's measure 18 inches by 13. It is not known how long it took him to finish the work, but it is difficult to see how it can have occupied him for less than two or three years, working for seven or eight hours of each weekday.

Eadwine is wearing the white habit, or dress, of a monk of his monastery, which had been founded by Augustine, with the permission of Ethelbert, King of Kent, soon after the conversion of the king in the year 597. The hood over the monk's shoulders was used, when pulled over the head, as a head-covering. Eadwine has beard and moustache, but hair only round the edge of his scalp. The remainder of his head was kept shaved of hair, a sign that he was a monk. The practice of shaving the crown of the head was called the " tonsure ". In large religious houses one of the monks acted as *barbitonsurus*, that is, the head-shaver ; in smaller houses a visiting head-shaver was employed. Eadwine is attending closely to his work. There can be no doubt that the picture represents his own idea of his portrait.

The chair on which Eadwine sits, and the draped desk at which he writes, are carved with openings like those of windows of Norman churches. The buildings at the top corners of the frame of the picture represent his idea, on a small scale, of the church of the monastery in which he lived. Part of this church can still be seen as the nave and the transept of Canterbury Cathedral. The frame of the picture is of the kind which had been used in this country for about 150 years before the time of Eadwine. In the Latin words which run round the inside of the frame, the scribe has written his name. He tells us that he is " the chief of the scribes ", and prays God to accept his work.

At the end of the book there are two plans which were probably drawn by a monk of the monastery named Wibert, the water-engineer. One shews the water-system as it runs inside the grounds. On it are marked the church, the chapter house, the cellarium, the kitchen, the refectory (the dining-hall), the guest-room, the infirmary and its chapel, the bath, the brewery, the herb-garden, the well, the granary and the vinery. The source of the water-supply, and the path of the water running from it underground, are shewn on the other plan.

The monasteries founded in this country by the Normans prided themselves on being self-supporting. They grew their own grain, they made their own bread, they caught their own fish and killed their own animals for food, they wove their own cloth, they quarried their own stone, they cut down their own wood, they built their own churches, they did their own wood-carving for their furniture, and they made their own parchment and books and did their own painting on their walls and in their books. For books there was a great demand. For every monastery had its own library and, in addition, needed large numbers of books for use in the church and for the private devotions of the monks. These books, which were always being turned out, needed for their production in every large religious house several writers and illuminators. In time, every one of these larger houses was compelled to set apart a room, called a *scriptorium*, that is, a writing-room, in which every process in the making of a book was carried out—the cutting and the scraping of parchment, the making of ink, the writing (often only copying), the mixing of the paints, the painting, and, finally, the binding. Every scriptorium was, therefore, a hive of industry. If a scribe wished to work alone, he was allowed to occupy a small compartment

built against the inner walls and windows of the cloister, called a carrel. It might be thought that the company of his fellows would be greatly missed by one who wished to work in a carrel by himself. But monks were accustomed to their own company. One monk wrote of the change which he had made from company to solitude :

> It must not be thought that my little tenement is to be despised. It is, indeed, a place to be desired. It is pleasant to behold, and it is comfortable for retirement. It is filled with the most choice and divine books. As I look at them, I feel contempt for the vanity of the world.

By the end of the twelfth century, both the carrels and the writing-rooms were, as a rule, fully occupied.

It is to be wished that we knew more about the men who built and adorned our great churches. While some of them were specialists in their own craft, others were more versatile. Such a one was master Hugo, of Bury St. Edmunds. In an account-roll of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds of the time of Hervey (sacrist from 1121 to 1148), there is the following entry :

> This Hervey, brother of Prior Talbot, found for his brother, the prior, the cost of writing a great book and caused it to be painted incomparably well by master Hugo. Since he could not find suitable calf-skin in the neighbourhood, he procured parchment from Ireland.

This copy of the Bible is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Irish parchment, on which the illuminations were drawn by master Hugo, is sewn on the commoner native parchment in pieces large enough for the drawings, and no larger. Hugo's skill did not end here. For it is on record, in the chronicles of the abbey, that he made the massive doors of bronze then in the monastic church, carved in wood the magnificent rood-screen, and cast a big bell. We may be sure

that other religious houses were equally fortunate in having amongst their monks craftsmen as versatile as master Hugo.

One other story of this book is worth the telling. An edge of a leaf of it has been repaired with a piece of vellum on which, in a hand of the fifteenth century, are the words, *hic, hic, hic.* When, in the year 870, the Danes killed Edmund, King of East Anglia, by shooting him with arrows, they hid his head where they thought it could not be found. His friends searched night and day for it. Hearing the words, *hic, hic, hic,* whilst they were in a wood, they were guided to the place from which the sounds came, to find that they were coming from the head of their dead master, which was guarded by a wolf. Joining the head to the body, they chose a spot on which to bury their master, and set to work to build a church as his shrine. This church grew into the monastery and the " bury " or " town " of St. Edmund. Any medieval book in which these three words, *hic, hic, hic,* are found must have been written at the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. Similarly, some Durham books are distinguished by the words :—*Liber Sci. Cuthberti de lez splendement,* or *in le splendiment* (book of St. Cuthbert, from *spendimentum,* the name of a portion of the library).

Fifty or sixty miles from Bury St. Edmunds was the religious house of St. Albans, one of the chief monasteries of the middle ages, which was at the height of its fame in the thirteenth century. Its most famous scholars were the renowned Roger of Wendover and the even more renowned Matthew Paris, historian, scribe, illuminator and traveller. Already, in the twelfth century, the monastery was famous for its scriptorium and its library. Abbot Paul, who died in the year 1093, and abbot Simon, who died ninety years later, did much for sacred study there, and made it possible for scribes to be con-

stantly working in the scriptorium. Roger held the important office of abbey historiographer, that is, chronicler or writer of history, till his death in the year 1236, twenty years after Henry III came to the throne. Roger found a chronicle in existence which abbot John of Cella, who died in the year 1214, had written, covering the period from the Creation of the World, the point at which nearly every medieval historian began, to the year 1200. This chronicle Roger revised and supplemented. To the monastery there came, in the year 1217, two years after Magna Carta had been signed, a youth of about seventeen years old, whose name was Matthew Paris. For nineteen years, until the death of Roger in the year 1236, these two must have worked together. Matthew was more versatile than Roger, for he had a gift for line-drawing and painting, and even for working in metals. He was Roger's natural successor as chronicler, and thus he found his life's work. His gifts were the cause of his being sent far afield. At the marriage of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence in Westminster Abbey in the year 1236, Paris represented the abbey of St. Albans and "reported" to the king what he saw. Soon afterwards he was sent on a mission to Norway as "visitor" of the Benedictine monasteries there. On his return he continued his historical work, dying somewhere about the year 1259, when he was nearly sixty years old. To the end he enjoyed the patronage of the king, who, on a week's visit to the monastery of St. Albans, not only summoned him to his table to eat with him but also had long conversations with him on other occasions.

The labours of John of Cella, Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris resulted in the compilation of a history from the Creation of the World to the year 1259. Abbot John wrote the story as far as the year 1189; Roger continued it to the year 1236; and Matthew brought it

down to the year 1259, at the same time revising the earlier portions and adding to them. The whole work is known as *Chronica Majora* (the Greater Chronicles) or *Historia Majora* (the Greater History). It contains the best and most reliable account of the reign of Henry III, and of the events which were happening on the continent of Europe also, to be found in the works of a medieval historian, some of it on the authority of the king himself. In addition to this great work, Matthew Paris superintended the writing of a shortened form of it, and called it *Historia Minora* (the Lesser History), or *Historia Anglorum* (History of the English). He also wrote the lives of twenty-three abbots of St. Albans. He did not write this history with his own hand, but he was the author of its contents, supervising the scribes who helped him. And he wrote the *Lives* himself.

Matthew's idea of history was no narrow one. In his chronicles, he includes accounts of the weather and of earthquakes, shooting-stars, good harvests, famines and the seasons. His books contain many illustrations, such as maps and portraits of the kings of England from William I to Henry III and of the twenty-three abbots of St. Albans. In his *History of the English* there is one of the most interesting pictures ever painted of the Virgin and Child, with Matthew kneeling devotedly below. The Child, on His Mother's knee, is not represented with orb and sceptre blessing the world, but as a loving Child with one hand in the Virgin's hand, and the other hand round her neck, while He is about to kiss her. Above the figure of Matthew are the words : *Frater Mathias Parisiensis* (Brother Matthew of Paris). Another inscription below the picture is generally supposed to be in his handwriting. (See illustration facing page 41).

As a historian, Matthew Paris was a worthy successor to the Venerable Bede. He is one of the great historians

whom this country has produced. From Bede to Macaulay and Green and the historians of our own day is a far cry. All of them wrote very differently, according to their knowledge and their standards. But what they wrote was literature as well as history, whether they wrote in Latin or in English. Matthew was an ornament of his age, the reign of Henry III. As we stand in the magnificent abbey and cathedral church of St. Albans, we may reflect that he knew and loved the very stones of which much of the present church is built. He shed a glory on the abbey which is realised by few who visit it.

Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, however, were merely continuing the kind of work to which earlier historians had devoted much of their lives.

Simeon of Durham joined the newly-founded monastery of Jarrow not long after the Norman Conquest, while he was yet in his early 'teens. When the Norman monastery of Durham Priory was founded, he was transferred there with the other monks from Jarrow. There he witnessed the opening, in the year 1104, of the tomb of St. Cuthbert. By that time he had become a student and a writer of history, doubtless stimulated by the example of the Venerable Bede, whose body had been removed from Jarrow to Durham. He was more compiler than original writer, his works being mainly based on the writings of other historians. Though he wrote a history of the kings of this country from 732 to 1129, it is chiefly for his *History of the Church of Durham* and for his *Letter on the Archbishops of York* that he is remembered. He died about the year 1135, at the age of about seventy. His life had covered practically the whole of the reigns of William I, William II and Henry I.

William of Malmesbury, probably half a Norman, was a monk of the abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire. As librarian and precentor, he enriched the library of the

abbey with books and he was responsible for the musical parts of the services sung by the monks. He might have become abbot, but he preferred to be free to spend his time in writing. In his three works, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Acts of the Kings of the English, from 449 to 1128), *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (Acts of the Bishops of the English), the chief source of English Church history since the death of the Venerable Bede in the year 735, and *Historia Novella* (A New History), a continuation of his first work to the year 1142, about which time he died, he covered much fresh ground, and added a great deal to such knowledge of the English Church and nation as was at that time possessed.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, who became bishop of St. Asaph, was interested in the history of the British people, living as he did either in, or on the border of, Wales. His *Historia Regum Britanniae* contains the story of King Arthur, but omits any reference to the Round Table. He followed it up some years afterwards (1147) with *Chronica sive Historia Britonum* (Chronicles or History of the British), a book which contained so many obvious fables that it created a great stir when its contents were made known. Of it, one critic wrote : " The fellow, with his fables, should be straightway spat out by us all." Geoffrey died in the year 1154.

Henry of Huntingdon, who died in the same year as Geoffrey of Monmouth, was archdeacon of Huntingdon. His *Historia Anglorum* (History of the English), which ends with the year of the death of its author, was issued four times during his lifetime.

Roger of Hoveden, or Howden, in the south of Yorkshire, where he was probably born, began his chronicle at the point at which the Venerable Bede left off, and continued it till his own death in the year 1201. In his description of the journey of Richard I to the Holy Land, he describes

a fight between Richard's galleys and a new kind of vessel called a *dromion* or *dromon*, " a marvellous ship, than which, except Noah's ship, none greater was ever heard of". It had three masts and carried 1,500 men. Yet, after an obstinate fight, the English seamen drove off the gigantic foe.

Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald the Welshman) was a historian of the worst kind, even at a time when people had no standards by which to distinguish between truth and fable. Giraldus, like Henry of Huntington, also became an archdeacon, of Brecknock. His chief work was on the topography of Ireland and the history of its conquest under Henry II. After a stormy career, which ill fitted him to write history, he died in the year 1220.

Mention may be made of some historians who lived after the time of Matthew Paris.

Ralph Higden (*c.* 1280–1363) was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, the church of which has been, since the year 1541, Chester Cathedral. Miracle plays which may have been written by him were performed at Chester, " in the English tongue ", in the year 1328. His great work, however, was *Polychronicon*, a book of history which was much read before the introduction of printing into this country, and was read even more when it was printed. He wrote the mighty work at the request of his fellow-monks. Beginning with a description of the countries of the world as it was known in history, he proceeds with an account of Bible history as far as the birth of Christ. He then goes on to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in England, and ends his story soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, and not long before his death. The work was translated into English in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Caxton printed the book in the year 1482, Wynkyn de Worde in 1495, and Peter Treveris in 1527.

Robert of Gloucester, who lived in the reign of Edward I, wrote a rhyming chronicle of the history of England which ends at the accession of Edward II. He based his record on the works of Henry of Huntingdon, Geoffrey of Monmouth and William of Malmesbury.

Richard of Cirencester (1335–1401), a monk of the abbey of Westminster, used the records of Roger of Wendover and Geoffrey of Monmouth in writing his *Speculum Historiale de gestis Regum* (Historical Sketch of the Acts of the Kings), a chronicle from the arrival of the English tribes in this country to the Norman Conquest.

John Capgrave (1393–1463) was born at King's Lynn, Norfolk, lived at the large priory there and died there. A later writer says of him : " He stuck to his books like a limpet to his rock." He was one of the most learned men of his time, and wrote, in addition to the chronicle of the history of England to the year 1417, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* (Book of Famous Henries, one of whom was Henry VI), a *Life of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, his patron, and the work by which he is best known, *Nova Legenda Anglie* (New Legend of England), which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the year 1516.

These short accounts of the writings of a small group of medieval historians reveal the absorbing interest which was taken in the history of our country by those who had the opportunity and the leisure to study and write. All of them were clerics of one kind or another, and they wrote in Latin. It was not till after the Reformation that the first history of the English people was composed in English.

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We now turn to one of the most interesting men in the whole story of medieval painting, W. de Brailes. His Christian name is not known, for in none of the signatures which he wrote on his drawings does he expand the initial W. He was one of the great illuminators of a

century which for artistic achievement was never surpassed—some would say never equalled—in this country. In architecture it saw the first triumphs of the Early English or first pointed style ; in literature, it saw the works of Matthew Paris ; in illuminated manuscripts, it witnessed a revival which led to the production of some of the most beautiful English work. As one writer has put it, beauty was then as much the lure as speed is now. W. de Brailes was one of the small army of men who felt the lure of beauty. Though he was not amongst the most skilled illuminators whom this country has produced, his drawing is of great merit.

The credit of discovering much of the work of de Brailes belongs to Sir Sydney C. Cockerell, until recently Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It was in the year 1908 that, when staying in Paris with the owner of a thirteenth-century book of hours, Sir Sydney found the name of the artist written on one of the pictures. Since then, the same scholar has found four more examples of the work of de Brailes. The last discovery was made in the United States only a few years ago. Yet nobody knows where the artist lived or what kind of cleric he was—monk or secular. There is nothing to connect him with the parish of Brailes in the south of Warwickshire, about ten miles west of Banbury. As he represents himself as tonsured, it is unlikely that he was not a monk. Indeed, until the end of the thirteenth century, the monks had the monopoly in illuminating books. His work was done between about 1235 and 1265. The manuscripts which contain illuminations by de Brailes are, or were, seven in number :

(1) A large psalter belonging to New College, Oxford, kept, like all the manuscripts belonging to this college, at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

(2) A psalter which belongs to Sir Sydney Cockerell.
(3) Six leaves from a psalter, also in private ownership. One of these contains a portrait of de Brailes, as a naked man with the tonsure, being rescued from hell by St. Michael. Under the portrait are the words, in the handwriting of the artist : *W. de Brail' me fecit* (W. de Brailes made me).
(4) A book of hours, also in private ownership. Again de Brailes is represented as a tonsured man, twice. And, under the two pictures : *W. de Brail' qui me depeint* (W. de Brailes who painted me), and *W. de brail'*.
(5) A copy of the Bible, also in private ownership, some of the illuminations being by de Brailes. The present owner recognised the style of the artist in the catalogue of a bookseller of Florence, Italy.
(6) A copy of the Bible, the whereabouts of which are no longer known.
(7) A manuscript now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, U.S.A. It was Sir Sydney Cockerell who recognised in the book the work of de Brailes in a large number of pictures.

An artist who paints in his own style, and whose work is like nobody else's, need not sign his work. The painting of de Brailes reveals itself in the colours, the faces and the drapery as these are depicted by him. The faces of his people are recognised by their staring eyes, their long, thin lips and their long, straight noses. This search for the work of an artist whose name was unknown forty years ago is surely one of the most exciting ever undertaken.

Throughout the thirteenth century, manuscripts were

produced which can be connected with definite individuals as patrons or sometimes owners, or which had interesting features. The earliest picture of the murder of Thomas à Becket in his own cathedral church of Canterbury, the church of the monastery of Christ Church, is to be seen in a psalter, now at the British Museum, which was written about thirty years after the murder. Of other psalters, one belonged to Robert of Lindesey, abbot of Peterborough, and one to John Grandison, bishop of Exeter from 1327 to 1369. Another, now in the library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, in New York City, U.S.A., is called the "Windmill" psalter, because at the head of one of the illuminations is a small representation of a windmill.

Of three copies of the Bible written about the middle of the century, one belonged to Robert de Bello, and another to William of Devon, while a third was written at Salisbury by a scribe named William of Hailes. A missal written at Salisbury at the same time belonged to Henry of Chichester. These facts may seem to be isolated in the midst of a great deal of information of the same kind which we should like to have but which may never come to light. But no work can ever be separated from the man or the woman who performs it. For it reveals part of his or her character. It is good, bad or indifferent as the author of it is good, bad or indifferent. These lovely works of art were written and painted by men of devotion and skill. They are monuments, too, of patience and industry. If we do not know the names of many of their creators, at least we honour them for what they did. For they did something which placed the fame of the illuminated manuscripts written in England in the middle ages as high as that of those of any other country in the world.

Yet, in spite of the outstanding beauty and magnifi-

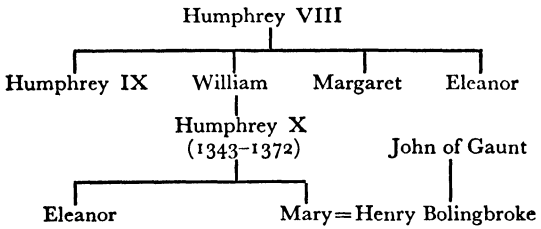
cence of the psalters which were produced in East Anglia in the first half of the fourteenth century, not a single one gives us a clue to the name of the scribes and the painters, unless the portrait of a monk named Grafham, in a psalter from Ramsey, near Ely, is an exception. The painter or painters of the hundreds of lovely pictures in Queen Mary's psalter may have painted some of the illuminations in the copy of the Apocalypse in the British Museum; but his name, or their names, is, or are, unknown.

Much, however, is known about the patrons or customers. These were all prominent and wealthy people. Amongst them are all the kings of England from Edward I to Henry IV. Queen Mary's psalter was probably made for Edward I or Edward II, while another psalter, now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, probably belonged to Edward III when he was Prince of Wales. Philippa of Hainault, Edward III's wife, owned a psalter. Edward II's bride, Isabella of France, had one given to her as a wedding present (see page 31). A fifteenth-century book of hours, known as "the Hours of Elizabeth the Quene", came into the possession of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII (see page 48), like another book which is referred to on page 73. A copy of the Bible in English, translated by John Wyclif, was the property of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III. Other owners of illuminated manuscripts during the fourteenth century included ecclesiastics. It was Thomas, vicar of Gorleston, who ordered the psalter known as the Douai psalter. Robert of Ormesby, a village not far from Great Yarmouth, presented one to the cathedral priory of Norwich. Yet another, produced early in the fourteenth century at Peterborough, was used there, at the priory church, by Hugo of Stiuecle, prior. And, by will, Edward the Black Prince left a missal

to the altar of our Lady in the crypt of the church of the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. We think of these prominent persons as men of affairs or as exalted ladies. It is when we learn that they prized these treasures of religious art that we realise that to their natures there was another side, namely, love of the beautiful and devotion to their faith.

A remarkable and, indeed, unique group of seven books tells one of the most thrilling stories of the interest taken in illuminated manuscripts by members of a family in the second half of the fourteenth century. Humphrey de Bohun (pronounced "Boon"), called "Humphrey with the Beard," came over to this country with William the Conqueror, and founded a family, members of which, until the end of the fourteenth century, held the earldoms of Hereford, Northampton and Essex. Of these Bohuns, ten were named Humphrey. They were prominent in the history of this country at all times. One of them, Henry, was amongst the barons who were entrusted with the duty of seeing that King John observed Magna Carta; Humphrey V fought against Simon de Montfort, and was captured at the battle of Lewes (1263), while Humphrey VI fought for Earl Simon at Evesham, where he was taken prisoner; Humphrey VII was one of the barons who refused to fight in France with Edward I, though he did fight at Falkirk (1298); Humphrey VIII was taken prisoner at Bannockburn (1314) and killed at Boroughbridge (1322); and Humphrey IX fought at Crecy (1346). And yet Humphrey X, grandson of Humphrey VIII, shewed himself more interested in the arts of peace than in those of war by owning at least four of the seven lovely books which are named, after his family, the Bohun books. His youngest daughter, Mary, married Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV, but she died five years before her husband became king.

A short family tree will be found useful.



The seven books are :

1. A psalter, now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, probably presented to John of Gaunt by Margaret and Eleanor, aunts of Humphrey X.
2. A psalter, and a book of hours, bound together, owned by Eleanor. This book is at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
3. A psalter, produced for Humphrey X, at Exeter College, Oxford.
4. A psalter, which belonged to Mary, daughter of Humphrey X. As she was his younger daughter, it is likely that her father presented the book to her. It is now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
5. A psalter, now at the National Library at Vienna, which belonged to Humphrey X, whose name is mentioned in some of the prayers in the psalter.
6. A psalter, now at Copenhagen, which was owned by Mary, daughter of Humphrey X.
7. A psalter, recently acquired for the British Museum.

This family is without parallel in the history of this country. All the books were made, though nobody knows where in this country, or by whom, about the year 1370. As Humphrey X did not die until two years afterwards, it is at least possible that he saw all of them,

John Siferwas presenting his Lectionary to John, Lord Lovel. British Museum ; c. 1400

Two books produced at the very end of the fourteenth century are full of interest from this point of view. One is the Lectionary of John, 5th Lord Lovel ; the other is the Sherborne missal. The former has already been referred to on page 46. We know the names of the illuminator and his patron, and we know, too, that it was intended for use in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. The inscription in the frontispiece, translated into English, runs :

> Pray for the soul of Lord John Lovel, who presented this book to the cathedral church of Salisbury as a special memorial of himself and his wife.

The Sherborne missal contains much interesting information about the scribe and the illuminator and the prominent ecclesiastics connected with the abbey church for which it was made John Whas, the scribe, a monk of the abbey, refers to himself several times :

> The name of the scribe is John Whas.
> John Whas, monk, laboured at writing this book.
> John Whas, monk, laboured at writing this book, and through rising early greatly exhausted his strength.

John Siferwas, also a monk of the abbey, one of the most skilful painters of birds who have ever lived, often painted his own figure, with the words underneath :— *Soli Deo honor et gloria* (To God alone be honour and glory). He illuminated the Lectionary of John Lovel, but did not illuminate more than one-half of the pages in the missal. But all the pictures are of a high order of merit. One of them represents the Virgin and Child seated under a splendid, tall canopy, while below them kneel the bishop of Salisbury (Richard Mitford, 1396–1407), the abbot (Robert Bruynyng, 1385–1415), the scribe and the illuminator. This beautiful picture occupies most of the left-hand margin of a very large page.

Little is known about the cost of these lovely treasures. But in one case a detailed account of the cost of a book can be given.

In the library of Westminster Abbey, there is a missal, or Mass book, which was presented to the abbey church and monastery by an abbot of Westminster late in the fourteenth century. An account roll of the year 1384 mentions details of the cost of this lovely book, which is in two volumes, and has pages which measure 20¼ inches by 14½ inches. Here are some of the details :

For 156 sheets of parchment (calf-skin), £4 6. 8.
For illuminating the capital letters, £22 0. 3.
For binding, 21*s.*
For the payment of the man who wrote the music in the book, 3*s.* 4*d.*
For a loose cover, 6*s.* 8*d.*
For embroidery, 6*s.* 10*d.*
For paint for the illuminations, 10*s.*
For the wages of Thomas Preston, the scribe, for two years, £4.

The book thus cost between £30 and £35 in the money of that time. It is impossible to express this amount exactly in the money of our time, but Thomas Preston's weekly pay of less than 2*s.* a week will suggest a sum running into a few hundred pounds as the modern price of producing such a book.

These lovely books, of which many are still to be seen in London (chiefly at the British Museum), at Oxford and Cambridge, at Manchester (in the John Rylands Library) and in private collections, make us feel proud of those men who spent their lives in writing and illuminating them.

Medieval wills contain frequent bequests of books, illuminated and otherwise.

John of Gaunt. February 3rd, 1397.

To the Reverend Father in God and my dear son the Bishop of Lincoln, a dozen saucers and my missal.

This was John of Gaunt's second son, Henry Beaufort, who afterwards became Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal. His tomb is in Winchester Cathedral.

Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester. (Eleanor Bohun, daughter of Humphrey X, and sister of Mary Bohun, first wife of Henry Bolingbroke.) August 9th, 1399.

To my son Humphrey a Chronicle of France in French . . . also a psalter well and richly illuminated with the clasps of gold enamelled with white swans and the arms of my lord and father enamelled on the clasps, and other bars of gold on the tissues in manner of mullets, which psalter was left to me to remain to my heirs, and from heir to heir. To my daughter Anne a book well illuminated with the *legendea aurea* in French. To my daughter Johanne a book with the psalter, primer and other devotions, with two clasps of gold enamelled with my arms, which book I have often used. To my daughter Isabel a French Bible in two volumes, with two gold clasps enamelled with the arms of France.

Humphrey was shipwrecked when crossing to Ireland with Richard II. He died of the plague in the year 1399. Anne became Countess of Stratford. Johanne, who never married, died in the year 1399. Isabel became a nun.

Roger Scrope, Lord of Bolton. September 23rd, 1403.

To Richard, my son and heir, my pair of paternosters of coral with a jewel of gold, which belonged to my lord and father, likewise a portfore (i.e. a breviary) and a missal according to the use of York which also belonged to my father, upon condition that they shall ever remain to the heirs male of my family.

Sir Lewis Clifford. September 17th, 1404.

My book of tribulation (i.e. the seven penitential psalms) to my daughter, and, to her husband, Sir Philip la Vache, my mass book and my port [breviary].

Sir William Lyttelton. August 22nd, 1481.

My gloset-saulter (glossed psalter, i.e. a psalter with notes in the margin and, probably, between the lines) to the priorie of Worcester, a book called *Medulla Grammatica* (The Essentials of Grammar) to the church of Kingsnorton ; a book called *Fasciculus Morum* (a Bundle of Precepts) to the church of Enfield. Also I will that my grete English boke be sold by myn executors, and the money thereof to be disposed for my soul. . . .

CHAPTER IV

PAPER, BINDING AND THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

PAPER is the commonplace of modern books, pamphlets, newspapers and wrappings. The best paper, which is used in those loveliest of all products of the printing-press which every publisher loves to give to the world, is indeed a thing of beauty. So is the type in which such books are printed. In certain cases it is specially designed for the purpose for which it is used. This proud achievement is the result of long study and devotion on the part of those who have worked to give to their art a worthy place amongst the other arts. It seems incredible that paper was first used by the Chinese as long ago as the beginning of the second century A.D. They made it from hemp, flax and rags. When the Roman Empire was tottering to its fall, the use of paper was in full vigour. Ideas and inventions, however, travelled so slowly in those days that three centuries passed before the great city of Baghdad had heard of paper. The appearance of paper in the west of Asia was made in time for it to be used by the Mohammedans to spread their faith, as it had been used for a similar purpose by the Buddhists in China and Japan. Had the Mohammedans not closed the trade-routes from the east to Europe, paper might have played another great part in the spread of Christianity in Europe from the time of Charles the Great onwards. But, if this had happened, there would have been no illuminated manuscripts, and the art of painting miniatures would have died soon after it was born. By the time the new writing material came to be manufactured in England, Henry VII had been

king for nearly ten years, and a new movement had begun, the New Learning and the Reformation, the progress of which would have been very slow but for paper and the printing-press.

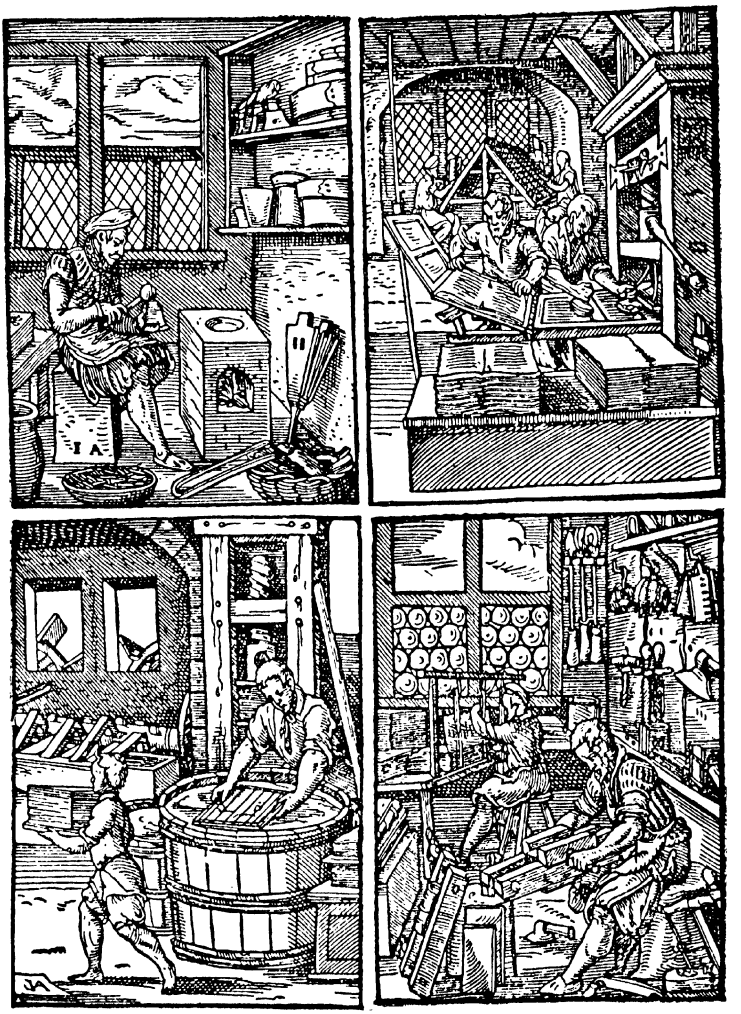
When the use of paper first reached Europe, by way of Spain, in the middle of the twelfth century, parchment was well established. The ecclesiastical mind regarded paper with suspicion as a pagan product. It is, therefore, no cause for wonder that paper was not manufactured in Italy until towards the end of the thirteenth century, and in Germany, at Nuremberg, till the year 1390. But paper was bound to displace parchment. It is, and always was, cheaper; it can be made more quickly; it is lighter in weight; and, in its better qualities, it is almost as tough.

When a printer takes the trouble to set up the type for a book, a long and tedious process, he does it because he intends to print many copies of it. Single copies of a book of which an edition has been printed are always much cheaper to buy than single manuscript copies of the same book would be. Copies of the "First Folio" of Shakespeare's Plays, which was issued in the year 1623, seven years after the death of the dramatist, were priced at £1 each in the currency of that time. It is doubtful whether a single manuscript copy of the same book could have been produced, that is, written and bound, for less than £50. There were also the questions of bulk and weight. The contents of a large manuscript book could be printed and bound in a paper book one-quarter of the size and a good deal less than one-quarter of the weight. The famous Westminster Abbey Missal or Mass-book, written towards the end of the fourteenth century, occupies two large volumes, each page measuring 20¾ inches by 14½ inches. It was designed for use on the high altar of the abbey church, and was intended

1568

Typefounder

Printer



Paper-Maker

Binder

to be kept there and not to be moved except from one part of the altar to another. A number of large missals printed at various places such as Venice and Lyons early in the sixteenth century have survived; and none of them occupies one-quarter of the space, or scales one-tenth of the weight, of the Westminster Abbey Missal. The bindings, too, are less elaborate, though, of course, they were cheaper. It is true that the printed missals are less beautiful than those written by hand, and that their pictures, one at least in every volume occupying a whole page, were in outline, and were coloured afterwards, by hand, in a light wash. But the day of the scribe and the painter of miniatures was over. The time had come when books of all kinds were being demanded, and when nothing could satisfy this demand except a number of copies of each book, each copy being of a convenient size and weight, and being issued at a price which many people could pay. Beauty was sacrificed. Not even the most passionate lover of early printed books can assert with truth that his cherished *incunabula* (swaddling-clothes)—the name now applied to books printed before the year 1500—can compete in beauty with the loveliest products of the medieval scribe and his colleague, the illuminator. It is true that the time had not yet come when printing had become mechanical and type was set up on a machine which cast the type as it was set up. The work of the early printers can often be recognised by the peculiarities of their type alone. But a printed book, however individual and however beautiful, has not the same brilliance of beauty that an illuminated manuscript has. Paper made possible the flood of printed matter with which we are familiar. But the price paid for this was a high one.

Bindings

Like the paper and the type, the binding of a book may be of any kind or quality, from the cheapest to the most expensive, from the plainest to the most elaborate. The origin, in shape and outward appearance, of the modern bound book is to be found in the " books " made of papyrus. These were written on long strips, several feet in length and upwards of sixteen inches in height. Each long strip was then folded concertina-wise, each fold being placed between two sheets of writing. If the reverse sides, consisting of blank sheets, had been fastened together with gum, and the folds tied together so that the separate sheets could move as a door swings on its hinges, the resemblance to a modern book would have been almost complete. From the very beginning of medieval manuscripts in this country, the gatherings of double sheets of parchment were fastened together when the book was finished, and then enclosed in a durable binding. Bindings varied in quality with the importance which was attached to the contents of the books. From the first, copies of the four Gospels were very beautifully bound. The jewels and the metal-work on the cover of the Lindisfarne Gospels have already been mentioned. (See page 22.) At Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, there is preserved a copy of the Gospel according to St. John which was found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert when the coffin was opened in the year 1104. The binding of this precious book is of red leather, very beautifully ornamented with a hand-painted design in yellow. This book must have been written and bound early in the eighth century. As late as the year 1517, the Dean and Chapter Library at York contained two copies of the Gospels which had belonged to St. Wilfrid, bishop of York from 669 to 677. Gold and silver were both used

to enrich the bindings. One copy was adorned with a representation, in ivory, of the scene at the Cross, with the Virgin Mary and St. John standing near, and with figures of the Three Persons of the Trinity and of angels. The other was adorned with a crucifix below, and, above, figures of Christ in Glory supported by St. Peter and St. Paul. These bindings must have been amongst the most sumptuous and costly of their time. So highly did our forefathers prize the Christian Gospel. Yet such rich bindings were condemned by St. Jerome, himself the writer of a translation of the Bible into Latin early in the fifth century. He wrote, " Your books are covered with precious stones, and Christ dies, naked, before the door of His Temple."

Purely useful books, such as copies of charters and grants of property, which had to be made so as to save reference to the originals, received bindings which were strong and durable rather than ornamental. Smaller and lighter books, such as records of business done at meetings, often have bindings of thick sheets of parchment to which the contents are securely sewn. But service-books which were used on the High Altar and were not much carried about, and copies of the Scriptures, which were valued for their contents, were regarded as worthy of better bindings. Every large monastery had its own book-binders amongst its members, as well as its own scribes and illuminators. The Cathedral Library at Durham still possesses several books which were both written and bound in the priory in the twelfth century. The great Bible of Hugh Puiset (bishop from 1153 to 1195), in four volumes, has a handsome binding, with ornamentation which harmonises with carvings in the cathedral. No fewer than fifty-one different dies must have been used to stamp the binding with this beautiful design.

During this century, other places had their binders, notably London, Winchester and Oxford. When printing was introduced into this country, the printer had to become, at first, his own book-binder. William Caxton and Richard Pynson, two of the three most notable printers of Westminster and London before the year 1535, were also book-binders. Caxton used an ornamental binding consisting of a stamp which produced a triangle, a style which had been used three centuries earlier; and he usually covered the boards with leather. Wynkyn de Worde, whose output of books was far larger than either Caxton's or Pynson's, and who printed "popular" and small books in large numbers, found it necessary to get his book-binding done for him by others. By the time he was established, there were many "stationers" in London, men, that is, who, whether Englishmen or foreigners, had set up in business as publishers, binders of books printed abroad, and booksellers. None of the early sixteenth-century bindings, or of the bindings of books printed in this country before the year 1500, can compete in beauty with the best of the earlier or the later bindings. Indeed, when the sale price of a book was anything from two to fifteen shillings, the binding could not be elaborate and costly. Curiously, the opposite process in binding to that in printing was followed in the early days of printing, for, whereas the block as the "unit" of the impression in printing gave place to the individual letter-types, the large number of tools used at first for stamping bindings in the middle ages now gave way to the single block, out of which the whole of one side of the leather binding could be stamped in one process. Such a practice had been followed here and there on the Continent during the fifteenth century, and was adopted at times in this country during the later days of manuscript books. These "panels", as they are

called, might represent any of a variety of subjects, religious or heraldic. The Tudor Rose was very commonly used. Another device in general use was that of the emblems of the Passion—the spear, the sponge, the Crown of Thorns, the ladder, the hammer, the nails, and the scourge—arranged on a shield as *Redemptoris mundi arma* (" the arms of the Redeemer of the world "). The exploits of St. George find a natural place amongst ornaments " tooled ", that is, marked with a hard tool, on bindings during the first half of the sixteenth century.

At the end of the fifteenth century, a new ally of the art of making bindings beautiful was found in the process of " gold tooling ", that is, of leaving on the impression made by the tool a thin strip of gold. This had the effect of lighting-up the uniform colour of the leather or the vellum, much as the use of gold leaf lit up or illuminated the pages of a manuscript. The process was probably first used at Cordova by the Moors. Thence it passed to Hungary, in the time of Matthias Corvinus (king from 1458 to 1490), and thence to Venice. There it was used for binding books by a famous Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius, who, with his descendants after him, issued editions of the classics from their printing-press which are treasured even to-day.

At this time, French kings had ambitions in Italy, a country which, until the nineteenth century, suffered from foreign rulers. Louis XII (king of the French from 1498 to 1515) assumed the titles of " King of Jerusalem and the Two Sicilies, and Duke of Milan ". He and his predecessor, Charles VIII (king of the French from 1483 to 1498) inspired French craftsmen to go one better than their Italian neighbours. Patrons of the new art were not wanting. Chief amongst them at this time was Jean Grolier (1479 to 1565), military treasurer under Francis II (king from 1559 to 1560). Grolier had acquired a taste

for books and bindings while he was Governor of Milan, between the years 1499 and 1521. French binders, who inherited the artistic skill of the French illuminators in the middle ages, produced under his patronage the famous Grolier bindings, all of which were beautiful examples of tooling, and had stamped on them, on the front side:

IO. GROLIERII ET AMICORUM,

and, on the reverse side:

PORTIO MEA DOMINE SIT IN TERRA VIVENTIUM.

This means: "(The book) of John Grolier and his friends. May my portion, O Lord, be in the land of the living."

Grolier's passion for beautiful books was infectious. Diana of Poictiers, a lady at the court of Henry II (king of the French from 1547 to 1559), acquired a collection of books with lovely bindings the like of which can scarcely ever have been equalled.

Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), who became finance minister to Louis XIV (king of the French from 1643 to 1715), spent large sums of money to indulge his taste for bindings.

Only a small proportion of the books printed in this country during the sixteenth century received sumptuous bindings. And none of them can compare with the best French bindings of the time. Yet some of them would be well worth possessing. Gilt tooling was first used here by Thomas Berthelet, printer to Henry VIII, who sold books "bounde after the Venetian fascion". It was, however, only books intended for royal and noble patrons and for large and important churches that were thought worthy of the finest and most expensive products of the book-binder. A book from the library of Henry VIII

and now in the Dean and Chapter Library, York, though a small one, is most tastefully bound in pure white vellum stamped in gold, with gold tooling.

Mention must be made of one of the rarest vellum bindings in this country, in the same library. The book itself is not a rare one, for it is a copy of the works of the Greek orator, Demosthenes, printed at Basle in the year 1532. The binding, however, is the only known example of a binding designed by Hans Holbein, the famous painter who received the patronage of Henry VIII and other prominent English people. The design shews: (1) on the upper and lower borders, a man playing a musical instrument while couples dance to the music; (2) in the frame round the middle panel, busts of four men, each repeated, namely, Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, and H. H. (for Hans Holbein); and (3) in the middle panel, figures on pedestals representing some of the virtues, not the work of Holbein.

Silk and velvet are occasionally found as coverings of boards for binding purposes. This style came into use during the seventeenth century. Charles I presented to York Minster copies of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and Charles II a copy of the Bible in two volumes, all of which are bound in red plush and are richly decorated with ornamentation of silver gilt.

It was natural that the city of London and the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge should be centres of the art of book-binding—London because it was the home of the earliest printers, and the two university towns because they were excellent markets for the sale of books. In all three places, books printed abroad were bound and sold. Machinery had not yet been used in the production of books, except in so far as the earliest printing-presses could be called machines. Type was set up by hand, and books were bound by hand. Every binding

was the object of individual care by the maker of it. The same binder would use a device by which he was known ; sometimes he would stamp his initials somewhere on the binding. It is only recently that the work of the early binders in this country has been studied. In the sixteenth century, Cambridge produced, amongst its book-binders, Garrett Godfrey, John Siberich and Nicholas Spierinck ; and Oxford had John Westall, Robert Way, John Adams and Garrett Pilgrim. Every old city, too, could boast its own binders, who were kept busy binding the books printed at its own presses when these were established. Thousands of these bindings are still in existence in old libraries, such as the British Museum, those of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and the libraries of the cathedrals and other ancient churches where their books survive.

As printing became more and more familiar, and more and more books were issued, both the art of printing itself and the craft of bookbinding became standardised. The political quarrels of the seventeenth century gave birth to hundreds of short tracts, which were issued without any binding except their own paper covers. Thin leather was still used to cover the boards of the bindings of books ; but, more often than not, there were no toolings on the leather. It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that a revival of book-binding as a thing of beauty in itself took place. The revival was due to Roger Payne, surely one of the most modest of men, for the only boast he ever made of his work was that it was " done very carefully and honestly ". This is what he wrote on one of the bills which he sent to a customer :

> Bound in the very best Manner, sew'd with strong Silk, every Sheet round every Band, not false bands : the Back lined with Russia Leather, Cut exceeding large : Finished in the most

The Gutenberg Bible. The opening of the First Book of the Kings (the First Book of Samuel in our Bibles)

N* the beginning God created the Heauen, and the Earth.

2 And the earth was without forme, and voyd, and darkeneſſe was vpon the face of the deepe: and the Spirit of God mooued vpon the face of the waters.

3 And God ſaid,* Let there be light: and there was light.

4 And God ſaw the light, that it was good: and God diuided † the light from the darkeneſſe.

5 And God called the light, Day, and the darkneſſe he called Night: † and the euening and the morning were the firſt day.

The Authorised Version of the Bible. Printed by Robert Barker, the King's Printer, in 1611. The opening of the Book of Genesis

magnificent Manner. Embordered with ERMINE expressive of the High Rank of the Noble Patroness of the Designs, the other Parts finished in the most Elegant Taste with Small Tool Gold Borders studded with Gold, and small Tool Panes of the most exact Work. Measured with the Compasses. It takes a great deal of Time making out the different Measurements, preparing the Tools, and making out new Patterns. The Back finished in Compartments with parts of Gold Studded Work and open Work to relieve the rich close studded Work. All the Tools except studded points are obliged to be worked off plain first, and afterwards the Gold laid on and Worked off again. And this Gold Work requires double Gold being on Rough Grained Morocco. The impressions of the Tools must be fitted and cover'd at the bottom with Gold to prevent flaws and cracks.

Payne was a curious man ; and it is tragic that he died, in the year 1797, of alcoholic poisoning.

John Edwards, of Halifax, Yorkshire, who lived about the time of Payne, made bindings the paintings on which were protected with transparent vellum.

Scotland, where, up to the Reformation, there were numbers of religious houses in which illuminated manuscripts were produced, naturally shared this love of beautiful bindings. Before James I became king of England, he had his own book-binder, John Gibson, of Edinburgh, to whom he paid a salary of £20 a year. Even the rough Earl of Bothwell, husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, possessed a book bound in brown calf, with both " blind " (that is, uncoloured) and gold tooling. And De Quincey so much admired the binding of a copy of the Bible published in the year 1635 that he ranked it above any other binding he had ever seen.

The introduction of machinery at the end of the eighteenth century, and the rapid growth of books during the nineteenth century, did much to injure the art of the craftsman in binding, until, to-day, it is rare to come across a binding which is hand-made and which has been

designed specially for the book which it contains. But craftsmanship is by no means dead, and printing-presses and publishers, when the cost of production can be met, either by sales or in other ways, are still able to command the services of those who are artists in their own branch of work—type-cutters, paper-makers, illustrators and binders. One of the most remarkable bindings of modern times is that of a book, the property of the Kings of England, which is kept in York Minster. Its title is : *The King's Book of York Heroes.* It contains photographs and short records of all the men of the city of York who gave their lives in the war of 1914–1918. The binding is of panels of solid oak, held together with strong metal bands and clasps, which are fastened to the wooden boards with screws. In relief on the front panel are carvings which give emphasis to the chief features of the binding.

Thus did the book take the shape with which we are familiar. In the essentials which make a book, an ancient codex of Holy Scripture and a modern book are one and the same ; and the definition with which this book began applies equally to each of, and to all, the books which have their place in between these two. From the time when parchment supplanted papyrus, to the end of the fifteenth century, when paper had supplanted parchment, the book and its binding had grown under the influence of the Christian Church. The story of the book during the past four-and-a-half centuries covers every department of human activity. It is the story of the printing-press.

Printing

The story of the beginnings of the art of printing forms a romance if ever there was one. For it, as for the making of paper, we must go to the Far East, to China and Japan.

Every Chinese word forms a picture; and from the ninth century the art of printing, on paper, whole pages of these symbols, each page cut out of a solid wooden block, was known. Even before this, the Buddhists in China had found out how to reproduce pictures of the image of Buddha. It was in the year 868, three years before Alfred the Great became king of Wessex, that the earliest surviving book was printed, by Wang Chieh, " for free and general distribution, in order, in deep reverence, to perpetuate the memory of his parents ". The " frontispiece " of the book, printed from a solid wooden block, represents a god, enthroned, conversing with an aged follower, who kneels before him in the presence of a large number of monks and celestial beings. The book is printed in the form of a roll of seven sheets of paper, in all sixteen feet long and about one foot high, after the fashion of a later papyrus roll. This earliest of all printed books was found near the Chinese border of Turkestan in the " Caves of the Thousand Buddhas ", which are hewn out of the face of a cliff. For some centuries, these caves were the homes of holy men who gathered together treasures of many kinds, which they walled up early in the eleventh century to prevent them from falling into the hands of those who would not respect them. When the chamber was opened early in the present century, some thousands of rolls were found of various dates in the centuries from the fourth to the tenth, about 3,000 of which are now in the British Museum. Amongst them was this earliest of all known printed books.

Less than two centuries afterwards, between the years 1041 and 1049, the art of printing from movable types was invented, also in China, by a man named Pi Sheng. His types consisted of wet clay, one piece for each character or word. He baked these pieces of clay in an oven till they were hard, when he set them in a frame ready to

be used. Like the European type-setters more than four centuries afterwards, he made several casts of each character, up to the number of a score or more in the case of those which were most commonly used.

Here, then, in China in the ninth and eleventh centuries, the rudiments of the art of printing, first from solid blocks and then from movable types, are found.

In Europe, the use of movable types—for that is what is commonly understood as printing—was only the third stage of a process which had a history of almost a century. It begins with the printing of playing-cards from wooden blocks, which was practised in Germany and France before the end of the fourteenth century. An Italian preacher of this time, it is said, preached so effectively against the growing habit of card-playing and its accompaniment, gambling, that the card-makers complained to him that their means of livelihood was being cut off. Whereupon the preacher replied : " If you can paint, paint this image of Jesus." But playing-cards were being printed in China at least as far back as the tenth century —a century before the Norman Conquest of this country. Occasionally, early printed playing-cards, printed from solid blocks, one for each kind of card, are still found in the bindings of old books. Only a few months ago, the writer of this book found some in this way. In England, as early as the reign of William the Conqueror, kings had their charters stamped with their monograms cut out of wooden blocks or cast out of metal, a practice which saved the making of wax seals. Similar impressions on silk and vellum were known in the twelfth century, and on paper two centuries afterwards. These stamped monograms were in use in this country, therefore, before playing-cards were produced by means of a process of printing.

Much as people now buy picture post-cards of the places which they visit, pilgrims in the middle ages

bought, for their own use or for presents to their friends, little " pieties ", or religious pictures of scenes from the life of Christ or the lives of the saints, when they were on pilgrimages. The earliest of these that can be dated with certainty is a picture of St. Christopher, which was found pasted on the inside of the binding of a book written early in the fifteenth century in Germany, and which owes its preservation to its being protected by an outer binding of deerskin which covered the wooden boards of the binding. The date of the woodcut—for the picture had been printed from a wooden block—is printed, on the same block, of course, underneath the picture : *millesimo cccc° xx° tercio*, which is the Latin way of saying : " in the one-thousand-four-hundred-and-twenty-third (year) ", or the year 1423. An even earlier date is claimed for some similar pictures, one, of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, and the other, of Christ before Herod, being claimed for a date not far from the year 1400. The former is in the British Museum ; the latter, in the National Library, Paris. During the fifteenth century, too, the art of engraving on silver and gold was being practised by goldsmiths on chalices and in other ways. An outline of the Crucifix is often found engraved on chalices of this century.

As in China, so in Europe, it was only a step from printing, from wooden blocks, copies of pictures with or without words of description, to the reverse process, namely, printing words with or without accompanying pictures, and to combining a number of these to form a book. Thus there came into existence what are known as " block-books ". As might be expected, the Bible and other religious books were the first books of this kind to be made—indeed, the first printed books of any kind. Copies of more than thirty issues of block-books have survived, and more than one hundred copies in all. The

Woodcut of St. Christopher, 1423

making of these books was a tedious task. It involved cutting out the whole of the impression of each page from a solid block of wood, and imitating the original copy as closely as possible on each block. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the period of the block-books did not last very long, and that, once the art of printing by means of movable type for each letter had been invented, the use of wooden blocks was confined to pictures only.

Biblia Pauperum (The Poor Man's Bible) was the most popular of the block-books. By the end of the fourteenth century, in England, the failure of the ecclesiastics to provide copies of the Bible in English had impelled John Wyclif, under the patronage of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III, to produce his own translation of the Bible, which he dedicated in honour of his patron. The printed copies of *The Poor Man's Bible*, a book which had existed in manuscript since the end of the twelfth century, or even earlier, were the result of the same demand abroad, but especially in Flanders and Germany. Only the most important episodes were chosen for explanation by means of pictures and text, those Old Testament subjects being selected which were held to foretell events in the life of Christ. As with the copies of the Apocalypse in manuscript, which have been described in Chapter II, the upper half of each page contained a picture, and the lower half an explanation of the picture. The book has been described as " a series of sermons in pictures, with texts to refresh the memory ". Ten issues of this interesting summary of Holy Scripture have come to light. The earliest of them are regarded as having been produced in the first half of the fifteenth century, that is, before the year 1450. England cannot boast of having printed any of these books. Flanders stands at the head of the list,

and Germany second. Hardly any Italian or French block-books have survived.

Everything which has just been described shews how, for a very long time, a new process which would one day take the place of making books by hand, through the arts of writing and painting, was being evolved. The making of a separate wooden, or, in the case of pictures only, a separate metal, block for each page or each picture was so cumbrous and so unsatisfactory in other ways that it may be doubted whether it would ever have ousted the arts of writing and painting manuscripts. It needed only the invention of movable types, one for each letter, and each being made in numbers large enough for the setting-up of at least several pages at the same time, to herald a revolution which was one of the greatest of its kind which the world has seen. Who would be the first to make the invention in Europe?

There are only two serious claimants to this distinction. They are Lourens Janszoon (commonly called *Coster*, the Dutch word for *sacristan* or *sexton*), of Haarlem; and Johann Gutenberg, of Mainz. Let us examine the case for each.

Coster was, it is said, an innkeeper. He is asserted to have dealt in oil, soap and candles, as well as to have held the position of sacristan of the parish church of Haarlem, a position which had been in his family for more than a century. The story goes that he discovered how to print through cutting some letters, probably his own initials, out of the bark of a tree, and then printing from them. He then prepared some better types, made some woodcuts, and issued—it is said, in the year 1441—his first book, *The Mirror of Our Salvation.* This book was arranged after the fashion of *The Poor Man's Bible*, with pictures at the tops of the pages, and descriptions below. But no copy survives. Coster, we are told, even

engaged some apprentices, one of whom stole his stock-in-trade and found his way to Mainz. These stories about Coster have been dismissed by many students of the early history of printing as pure invention at the worst, and nothing but guess-work at the best. But, of late, the champions of Coster's claim to fame have been encouraged by the discovery, chiefly in the bindings of manuscripts and early printed books, of leaves and fragments, which, because they are supposed to have been Coster's work, are called "Costernian". Students in America are much more interested in the controversy than English students; and one American writer asserts that "recently the trend of opinion has been in favour of the Dutch claims".

Let us now turn to Gutenberg. Johann Gutenberg (to give him, according to the custom of his time, his mother's maiden name), or Gänsefleisch (to give him his father's name), was born at Mainz, of a good family, about the year 1400. Soon after the year 1434, he was living at Strasburg, and two years later made an agreement with Andreas Dryzehn and various other persons to teach them certain "secret arts" which they might be able to practise to their advantage. The death of Andreas in the year 1438 brought the agreement to an end. Nothing more is known of Gutenberg's movements for about ten years; but before the year 1450 he had returned to his native place. In the Gutenberg Museum at Mainz, there is preserved a treasured *Fragment of the World Judgment* (i.e., the Last Judgment), which, it is claimed, was printed by Gutenberg between the years 1444 and 1447. As this fragment formed part of a book of 74 pages, the whole book would have been a rare treasure had it survived. Two other pieces of printing exist which are printed in the same kind of type as the *Fragment*. One is a portion of a Latin Grammar, and

the other is an astronomical calendar for each month of a year which is claimed to have been the year 1448. The question may here be asked: "Were the 'secret arts' which Gutenberg promised to teach Andreas Dryzehn and the other parties to the agreement the arts of making movable types out of wood or metal, and printing therefrom? And are the precious specimens of printing in the Mainz Museum the only surviving results of the practice of these 'secret arts'?"

Gutenberg was nearly fifty years of age when he returned to Mainz. There he met Johann Fust, a rich goldsmith who doubtless knew his family well. Fust enabled Gutenberg to set up as a printer by lending him, in two amounts, one in the year 1450, and the other two years later, a large sum of money. It was from the printing-press set up with the help of this money that there were issued copies of an Indulgence of Nicholas V, pope from 1447 to 1455, asking for help for the King of Cyprus in his struggle against the Turks, who had captured Constantinople in the year 1453. In the copies of this Indulgence, a capital M was used of a shape which made it easily recognisable. Then, in the year 1456, there appeared an issue of the Bible which is regarded by many as the very first book printed in Europe, and therefore, apart from its beauty, the greatest treasure amongst printed books. The previous year had seen a quarrel between Gutenberg and his patron, Fust, who sued Gutenberg unsuccessfully for the return of the money which he had lent to him. Gutenberg had probably obtained loans before this one, and he may have repaid them. This one, however, he never did repay. The quarrel led to a separation between the two men; and by the following year, 1457, Fust had found a new partner in Peter Schoeffer. Together, they issued in the same year another lovely book, a copy of the Psalter,

" a book ", says one student and enthusiast, " which is a never-failing source of amazement and an object of almost idolatrous admiration to all lovers of early printing ". This Psalter was the first printed book to be dated and to contain the names of the printers. The colophon, or inscription at the end of the book, runs :

> The present copy of the Psalms, adorned with beauty of capital letters, and sufficiently marked out with rubrics, has been thus fashioned by an ingenious invention of printing and stamping without any driving of the pen, and to the worship of God has been diligently brought to completion by Johann Fust, a citizen of Mainz, and Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim, in the year of the Lord 1457, on the vigil of the Feast of the Assumption.

Here, at any rate, we are on solid ground. The Bible of the year 1456, however, does not contain anything to tell us when, where or by whom it was printed. It is from evidence of other kinds that experts have decided that it was a product of the work of Gutenberg and Fust, and that, as Fust's share in the venture was to provide the money, and Gutenberg's to supply the technical skill of designing, making and setting up the type, the credit for it must go mainly to the craftsman. The book consists of two volumes of nearly 1,300 pages of type in all, set up in two columns to a page. There were two impressions of it, which were the cause of an interesting " find " which is mentioned on page 102. The task of setting up the type must have been a long one, and may well have occupied Gutenberg and his assistants, of whom he must have had some, for a great part of a period of the six years which elapsed between the date of his agreement with Fust and the appearance of the Bible in print. This book is regarded by experts as undoubtedly the work of Gutenberg, and as being earlier in date than the Psalter of the year 1457. It is known universally as Gutenberg's Bible.

While Fust transferred his patronage to Schoeffer, his son-in-law, all that is known of Gutenberg's further adventures is that he found another partner or patron in Conrad Hummer, a counsellor of Mainz. It is claimed on his behalf that he was thus enabled to produce more books, one of which has survived. He died in the year 1468, and is stated to have been buried in a church at Mainz which no longer exists, and in which a memorial tablet was placed to his memory which had an inscription as follows :

> To Johann Gensfleisch, the inventor of the art of printing and deserver of the highest honours from every nation and tongue, Adam Gelthus places this tablet in perpetual commemoration of his name.

As with Sir Christopher Wren's memorial in St. Paul's Cathedral, Gutenberg's memorial is all around us in the spate of printed matter which is issued every day.

But does the credit of the invention of printing in Europe belong to Gutenberg? There can be no doubt that he practised the art of printing at Mainz. There is no evidence that he did any printing at Strasburg, but it may be argued, with the support of the agreement with Johann Fust, that the " secret arts " which he undertook to teach his Strasburg friends were connected with printing. There is no direct evidence that he produced the Bible of 1456, but he certainly did set up as a printer, and the Bible could not have been issued from a new press and new type in a less time than a few years. And in the Psalter which was the work of Fust and Schoeffer the ornamental M which was used in the Indulgence was in use again. The champions of Gutenberg do seem to have a stronger case than the champions of Coster. In any case, by the year 1457 the Mainz printing-press was established, and there is a good deal of evidence that printing had been done there for some years earlier.

Within a few years, the new art had become anybody's property.

The early printers had only one model in front of them for their style of type, namely, the manuscripts which they could do no other than imitate. The style in which these were written is known as the Gothic style. At first, this kind of writing was reproduced in print, complete with the abbreviations which were a commonplace of medieval writing in Latin. What is called " roman " type, the style in which this book is printed, was not long in making its appearance abroad. It was first used in this country by Richard Pynson. Wynkyn de Worde, also, like his master, Caxton, a Westminster printer, introduced into England the type known as " italic ", from Italy, the country of its origin. He also made the first experiments here in Greek type and in the printing of the musical notation known as plainsong. Early printers did not regard it as necessary to make their lines of the same length. In other ways, the art was obviously in its infancy. But all honour is due to them for their originality and for their perseverance.

The art had come to stay. It became the handmaid of religion, education, politics, business and, indeed, of every department of life. Before the end of the fifteenth century " the irrepressible art ", as one writer calls it, was firmly established in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, the Low Countries, Spain, Portugal, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Turkey, Montenegro and even the Balearic Isles, and, of course, England. It is not impossible that one day Russia may be added to this long list. Thousands of these *incunabula* exist. Wherever they are, they are regarded as treasures. As with manuscripts, illuminations, pictures, furniture, china and other things of beauty made by artists and craftsmen with their own hands, printed books have their devotees, who

will pay as much as they can afford for the pride of possessing some of the books which they covet. The Gutenberg Bible of 1456 may be taken as an example of the romance of book-collecting. About the middle of the eighteenth century, a student who was working in the library of Cardinal Mazarin (who died in the year 1661) at Paris found there a lovely printed copy of the Bible in two volumes, at the end of which he noticed an entry that on August 15th, 1456, Heinrich Cremer, vicar of a church at Mainz, had finished the work of painting the capital letters in, and of binding, the book. Not long afterwards, at Mainz, he examined another copy of what appeared to be the same issue of this Bible. He noticed, however, that, whereas the Paris copy had 42 lines in each column throughout, the Mainz copy had, at the beginning of the book, sometimes 40, sometimes 41 and sometimes 42, lines to the column, and that, later in the book, the number of lines was 42 without variation. It was plain that, in the setting-up of the Mainz copy, the printer had been experimenting at first until he could decide what number of lines to a column would give the book the best appearance. It was equally plain that the Paris copy belonged to a second setting of the type. In the year 1926, the huge sum of £21,000 in English money was paid, in the United States of America, for a copy of this rare treasure. A well-known American book-collector is of the opinion that the day will come when a million dollars will be paid for a copy of it. There is a lovely copy, in the original binding, in the library of Eton College.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST PRINTERS IN ENGLAND

IN the John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester there is a book which ends as follows :

Et sic est finis.
Thus endeth the book of the dyctes and notable wyse sayenges of the phylosophers late translated and drawen out of the frenshe into our englisshe tonge by my forsaide lord Therle of Ryuers and lord Skales and by his comandement sette in forme and emprynted in the manere as ye maye here in this booke see Which was fynisshed the xviij day of the moneth of Nouembre & the seventeenth yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the fourth.

This copy of the first book that was printed in England is the only one which contains this information. With the issue of this book the story of the art of printing in this country begins.

When William Caxton issued this book from his printing-press hard by the abbey of Westminster, more than sixty years before the abbey was suppressed, while yet all the monastic buildings were in existence, he was already over fifty years of age. Since leaving England as a young man, he had lived at Bruges. He came back to his native country to make his name renowned in her annals.

The family to which he probably belonged, the Caxtons or Caustons, were once lords of the manor of Haddon, in the weald of Kent. It is not known for certain where in the county of Kent, or exactly when, he was born. He himself says no more than that he learned his English in the Weald of Kent, " where I doubt not is spoken as broad and rude English as in any place in England ". But, seeing that on June 15th, 1438, he was apprenticed

to a London mercer, or dealer in woollen goods, it is almost certain that he was brought up amongst the descendants of those Flemish people who had been induced by Edward III to settle in Kent in order that they might make cloth from English wool. Caxton was fifteen or sixteen years old when he was bound apprentice to Robert Large, alderman of the city of London, who lived at the junction of Lothbury with Old Jury. The record of his apprenticeship is still preserved in the wardens' accounts of the Mercers Company of London. It reads :

Entres des appntices.

Item John Large
Item Will'm Caxton } les appntices de Robert Large. iiij*s*.

The new apprentice thus took up his abode with the family of his master, possessed of a good education and with a useful and perhaps distinguished career in front of him as a London citizen and merchant and—who knows ?—even Lord Mayor. Alderman Large occupied the honourable position of Lord Mayor of London in the year 1439–1440. His death in the following year, however, compelled Caxton and his fellow-apprentices to find fresh masters under whom to finish the periods of their apprenticeship.

For a reason which has not yet appeared, Caxton chose to transfer himself to a new master at Bruges, where there was a large and flourishing community of English merchants in wool and cloth. It may be that his imagination had been fired with the accounts which he had heard from his master's customers in the Low Countries of life in Bruges, which was then at the height of its prosperity as a port, and the outlet to the North Sea of a commerce which came overland from Genoa and the east. With 20 marks in his pocket—£13 6*s*. 8*d*.

Ercules opant ce mandement des dames respondy
ꝯ ala messagiere/ Damoiselle puis que les dames de
sichie sont tant chevalereuses quelles ont conquis
les grans royaumes degipte de capadoce & dasie elles sont
fort adoubter neantmoins pour leffusion du sang euiter
et pour deffendre les affricquains de leur seruage vous re
tournerez aelles et leur direz que la bataille de deux chena
lers contre deux dames leur est accordee pour estre faicte
demain par les condicions que vous auez dittes/ Atant ser
allez affer et plusieurs autres Jurerent celle chose entrete
nir et firent grant honneur et reuerence ala damoiselle:

Than Jasius sawe hys broder come aff in ar-
mes. aff his blood began to chunge. & seeyng
that his broder was chmeuyd & fulf of cupff
wulf demyng that this mater sholde tome to grete myf
chef. lx ascried and saide Alas wlxt auayleth for to
spche and counceyll & seke menes of pees betwene my
broder & me. We ben betrayed. lo lxre is my broder that
cometh vpon vo aff in armes. eelx mān saue hym self
that may With these wordes Dardanus cam in to the
wnfstonie smote his broder vnto p deth & said Jasius
thou maust not abstayne thi self from thy machynacy-
ons Thou hast enhunsed thy self ageust me. but now
y shal make an ende of the Jasius fulf down dede among
the feet of hys frendes And ther Clothes were aff be
sprent & be bled of his bloody Whan the frendes of Jas
ius saw this tyrannye they saued them self as well
as they coude to their power and fledde from thens aff
araged Than Dardanus retorned to the viall palays

A page, in French and English, of William Caxton's "The Recuyell of the Hystoryes of Troye"

William Caxton presenting his first book, "The Recuyell of the Hystoryes of Troye," to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy

in our money, though worth then at least twenty times as much—a bequest to him from his master, he left England to seek his fortune abroad. His enterprise was rewarded. Within three or four years of the end of his apprenticeship, he had prospered to such an extent that he was accepted as surety in the sum of £110—well over £2,000 in our money. Twelve years later he became acting-governor of "the English Nation in the Low Countries", that is, of the Merchant Adventurers at Bruges and elsewhere in the Netherlands. The times were not easy, for in the year 1465 Philip, Duke of Burgundy, broke off trade relations with England. Three years later, the marriage of his son, Charles, by that time Duke of Burgundy, to Margaret, sister of Edward IV, was the signal for a renewal of the friendship between England and the Low Countries. When, in the year 1470, Edward IV visited Bruges, the services which Caxton had rendered to "the English Nation in the Low Countries" came to his notice; and, as Caxton's health was then not good, he was taken into the service of Margaret. This event determined his future.

Caxton's good education, for which, as he himself tells us, he was grateful to his parents, now stood him in good stead. He had been working for some time on a translation from French into English of a story which was popular at that time, the History of Troy. He had undertaken this long task "to eschew sloth and idleness, and to put myself into virtuous occupation and business". His patroness, the Duchess, encouraged him throughout his arduous labours. He tells us a good deal about the progress of his work and about his decision to have his translation printed. At the end of the second book of the translation, which he called *The Recuyell of the Hystoryes of Troye—recuyell* meaning *gathering together*—he writes:

Thus endeth the seconde book of the recule of the historyes of Troyes Whiche bookes were late translated in to frenshe out of latyn by the labour of the venerable persone raoul le feure preest as a fore is said And by me Indigne and unworthy translated in to this rude englissh by the comandement of my said redoubtid lady duches of Bourgone: And for as moche as I suppose the said two bokes ben not had to fore this tyme in oure englissh langage, therfore I had the better will to accomplisshe this said werke whiche werke was begonne in Brugis & contynued in gaunt And finysshid in Coleyn In the tyme of ys troublous world and of the grete deuysions beyng and reygnyng as well in the royaumes of englond and fraunce as in all other places unyuersally thurgh the world that is to wete the yere of our lord a thousand four honderd lxxi. And as for the thirde book which treteth of the generall & last destruccon of Troye Hit nedeth not to translate hit in to englissh, for as moche as that worshifull & religyo' man John Lidgate monke of Burye dide translate hit but late.

And, at the end of the third book, Caxton continues:

And for as moche as in the wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hand wery and not stedfast, myn eyen dimmed with overmoche lokyng on the whit paper, and my corage not so prone and redy to laboure as hit hath ben, and that age crepeth on me dayly and febleth all the bodye and also because I have promysid to dyverce gentilmen and to my frendes to addresse to hem as hastely as I myght this sayd boke therefor I have practysed and lerned at my great charge and dispense to ordeyne this said boke in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here see and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben to thende that every man may have them attones for all the bokes of this storye named the Recule of the hystoryes of troyes thus enprynted as ye here see were begonne in oon day and also fynysshid in oon day.

It is generally thought that it was during his residence at Cologne, for about eighteen months in the years 1471 and 1472, that he learned the art of printing and that he perfected himself in it under Colard Mansion, one of the earliest printers of Bruges. In the year 1496, Wynkyn

de Worde, Caxton's successor as a printer at Westminster, printed in one of his books :

> And also of your charyte call to remembraunce
> The soule of William Caxton first printer of the boke,
> In laten tonge at Coleyn, hymself to avaunce,
> That every well disposyd man may theron loke.

By this time, printing-presses existed at other places in the Low Countries, Louvain, Utrecht and Alost. At Louvain, Caxton met Jan Veldener, a printer, and it is held by some students that it was in partnership with him that *The Recuyell of the Hystoryes of Troye* was issued as a printed book. At any rate, it was the earliest book to be printed in the English tongue. And, of it, Caxton was translator as well as printer. In size, the book is slightly less than foolscap ; and it contains 352 leaves, or just over 700 pages. One of the surviving copies of this book, which is in the library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington, of San Marino, California, belonged to the wife of Edward IV, Elizabeth Woodville, sister-in-law of Caxton's patroness. The Duchess deserves to be held in high honour as the co-founder of the printing enterprise which produced the first book to be printed in English. It is fitting that this copy of the book, alone amongst all surviving copies, contains a full-page copper-plate engraving which shews Caxton presenting the book to the Duchess.

Before he left Bruges, the new printer had issued three other works from his press, probably also with the help of Jan Veldener : (1) *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, a translation from French into English of a moral commentary on the game ; (2) *The Four Last Things* (i.e., Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell) ; and (3) an indulgence, a copy of which, the only one that exists, was found in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, in the year 1929.

To the lasting benefit of his native land, Caxton decided to return to England, taking up his abode and setting up his printing-press, in the year 1476, only a few yards from the house, hard by the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, in which Chaucer had died. His reason for choosing this site appears to have been so that he could exhibit his wares on a stall outside his printing establishment which the members of the House of Com-

The figure of the King in "The Game and Playe of the Chesse," printed by William Caxton

mons had to pass as they went to and from the House, which at that time met in the Chapter House of the Abbey. This information, with the added fact that it was not until seven years afterwards that he took additional premises at "The Sign of the Red Pale", near the Almonry of the Abbey, in the direction of Tothill Street, has been discovered only recently. Before houses received numbers or names, it was the custom for them to be distinguished from other houses by means of signs

over their doors, like those which are hung over the doors of scores of inns to this day. "The Sign of the Red Pale" was a heraldic shield with a vertical stripe dividing the white ground of the shield into two equal parts. To this printing establishment, the first to be set up in this country, came apprentices, amongst them being Wynkyn de Worde.

It was here that Caxton produced what is held to be the first book printed in England, *The Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophers*, only one surviving copy of which bears the date, November 18th, 1477. During the next fifteen years he printed at his press 96 books, or separate editions of books, many of which were his own translations. These books, it has been estimated, occupied, in all, something like 18,000 pages. *The Golden Legend* was his most ambitious work. It was largely the result of his own translation into English from the French of Jacob de Voragine. The venture of printing a translation of a book which, in its printed French version, occupied 443 leaves, of folio size, printed in double columns, must have repaid Caxton, for copies of this work were much in demand not only in this country but also, from foreign printing-presses, all over Europe. Caxton illustrated his edition, which was published in November, 1483, with 70 woodcuts. After his death, several of the unsold copies were disposed of at prices ranging from 5*s.* 4*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.*, in our money somewhere about £5 to £7 in the values of to-day. But for the generosity of the Earl of Arundel, Caxton might have hesitated before taking the risk of printing the book. The new art had its patrons. Amongst them were Edward IV, who did not forget his services in the Low Countries, Richard III and Henry VII, and lesser folk like the Duchess of Somerset and Sir John Fastolf. Another venture was the issue of Ralph Higden's

Polychronicon (see page 65), the subject of which Caxton continued to the year 1460. An admirer of Chaucer, he did not undertake a complete printed edition of his works, but did make two prints of *The Canterbury Tales* in the years 1478 and 1483. It was no small task to set up, from a manuscript copy, 20,000 lines of poetry. He also made his countrymen familiar with the poems of John Lydgate, even short ones such as *The Chorle and the Byrd*, and *The Hors, the Shepe and the Ghoos*, copies of which, of either the first or the second print, are extremely scarce. Romances such as *Morte d'Arthur* were not forgotten in a country which had always welcomed stories of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. *The Book of the Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye*, printed in the year 1489, revealed Caxton's interest in the ideals of knighthood which had taken firm root in the minds of noble lords and ladies, and of humbler people too, after the Norman Conquest.

An analysis of the subject-matter of the books which Caxton printed in the short space of fifteen years between 1477 and his death in 1491 shews that his interest, and, we may argue, that of his patrons also, lay in religion, lives of the saints, history, chivalry, poetry and good manners. He lived in days when the Lollard controversy had died down and the Reformation could not have been foreseen. His two most important successors lived and worked long enough to foresee that changes in the relations between the Church of Rome and the Church of England were at hand. Caxton, however, was a man of the middle ages. The following advertisement, the earliest printer's advertisement which has survived in this country, belonging to the year 1480, is the product of a man of the times in which he lived :—

Yf yt plese ony man spirituel or temporel to bye ony pyes of two and thre comemoracios of salisburi use enpryntid after the

forme of this preset lettre whiche ben wel and truely correct late hym come to westmonester in to the almonesrye at the reed pale and he schal haue them good chepe.

A "pye" was a directory which contained information for priests for the conduct of the services of the Church. The rules were so elaborate and detailed that no priest could hope, at any rate at first, to master them without this aid.

If it plese ony man spirituel or temporel to bye ony pyes of two and thre commemoracions of salisbury use emprynted after the forme of this preset lettre whiche ben wel and truly correct, late hym come to westmonester in to the almonesrye at the reed pale and he schal haue them good chepe . . .

Suplicacion pro cedula

William Caxton's Advertisement

The colophons, or short announcements at the ends, of more than a score of Caxton's books, run something like this :

Emprynyed by me william caxton at westmestre.
Emprinted by me william caxton Jn thabbey of Westmynstre by london.
Now late emprynted at Westmynstre.
Emprynted by me willm caxton at westmynstre in thabbey.

But very few of his books are dated—only fifteen or sixteen. He used eight different kinds of type, the eighth in only three of his books. His use of these different type-founts is some guide to the order in which the books were printed, but not always a reliable guide. His

successors were better craftsmen, but this is often the case when a pioneer has cleared the ground for others.

In the year 1486, Caxton's friend, William Pratt, died. The two friends were agreed that "the amendment of manners and the increase of virtuous living" were objects worth pursuing. Just before he died, Pratt asked Caxton to publish a book on this subject. The result was *The Boke of Good Manners*. Caxton's own burial is recorded at the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, his parish church, as follows:

> Item, atte Bureyng of William Caxton for iiij torches . vj*s.* viij*d.*
> Item for the belle atte same bureyng. . . . vj*d.*

Caxton's books are not graced with title-pages. Indeed, the art of printing was half-a-century old in England before title-pages became common. Some admirers of Caxton are inclined to criticise him because he did not adopt fresh features which he must have noticed in foreign books which were being imported into this country during his lifetime. He used at the ends of most of his books a device which he designed himself, and which was used for a time by his successor, Wynkyn de Worde. A specimen of it is reproduced on page 113. The S and the C at the sides have been taken to mean *Sancta Colonia*, for *Cologne*, where Caxton learned the art of printing. The device between the initials W C has been explained as a monogram of 7 and 4, the tens and the units digit of the number of the year, 1474, when, according to some, he issued his first book abroad. These, however, are only surmises.

As a pioneer, Caxton went his own way. He did not illustrate any of his books until the year 1481, the earliest date at which *The Mirror of the World* can have been published. Then, for some time, not a single woodcut is to be found in any of his books. Even *Reynard the Fox*,

a book which would have given scope to the art of the maker of woodcuts, does not contain a single picture. He was interested, not so much in printing as an art, as in the spread of knowledge. To him, printing was

One of the devices used by William Caxton to denote that he had printed a book

mainly a means to an end, not an end in itself. He was, as has been seen, his own translator, except in the case of a long work, for example, *The Golden Legend*, when he got help from others. It was long before printers became merely printers, and not also translators and compilers. His example was followed by Richard Pynson

and Thomas Berthelet, who are amongst those who are called by one writer " the learned printers ", to distinguish them from printers, such as Wynkyn de Worde, whom he calls " the popular printers ". As printing advanced, and as the demand for books grew, a division of labour was bound to take place. Caxton, however, would not have been happy as merely the setter-up of other people's work. He was a cultured if not a learned man, and he had that joy of creation which comes only to those who are able to complete every stage of a task.

While little is known about him from records, much can be inferred from his books that could not have been known had he been merely a craftsman. He was a Yorkist at a time when the Wars of the Roses were being fought. Indeed, on grounds of gratitude alone he could not have been anything else. He must have been a man of deep piety and of kindly and chivalrous instincts. Like most people as they advance in years, he liked the old ways of life. His reading was wide and deep. He could both write and speak French, German and Dutch, as well as English. Chaucer he regarded with special affection and admiration, and he took care to make *The Canterbury Tales*, a book which is a mine of information and shrewd reflections on English life of the later part of the fourteenth century, available for a large number of people who could read. And he was a man of amazing industry. To have produced one-hundred separate books and editions within fifteen years, and those the years during which old age is creeping on, is proof that he cannot have had many idle moments. The nearest to a portrait of him that has survived is on a defaced print in a copy of *Dives and Lazarus* in the library of Lambeth Palace. Such a man was more than an ornament to his profession. In every way he was worthy to be a pioneer. The movement which he began was destined to become

the most powerful instrument for the spread of knowledge which the world has known, more powerful even, we may believe, than the " wireless ". For books contain in a permanent form the wisdom of the ages. They can be taken from our shelves at any time, or borrowed freely from our libraries. Every library ought to have over its chief entrance a tablet to William Caxton's memory. It was fitting that he should have lived and worked for the last fifteen years of his life, and should have ended his days, near a spot which is for ever sacred to Englishmen.

Caxton had a daughter, Elizabeth, but no son. On his death, his house and business were taken over by one of his apprentices, Wynkyn de Worde (from Wörth, in Alsace), a man of Lorraine. Wynkyn became naturalised as an Englishman five years after Caxton's death. He lived at the Sign of the Red Pale for nine years, until his removal to " The Sign of the Sun ", in Fleet Street, London, near the church of St. Bride, which was rebuilt, after the Great Fire of London, on the site of its predecessor. While Caxton had been scholar, linguist, and translator, his successor had no advantages or gifts except such as the practice of his craft could confer on him.

For a year or two he did not shew much energy as a printer. This could have been due to his having to make his own type-faces, for at first he used those left by Caxton. Yet within two years he printed five books, one of which, *The Golden Legend*, had been printed twice by Caxton. Another of these was the first book printed at Westminster to have a title-page. When he got into his stride, however, books poured from his press until, at his death in the year 1535, he set up what became almost a record for the sixteenth century in the number of books issued from the press of a single printer. Some of them, such as *The Golden Legend* and *Vitas Patrum* (Lives of the Fathers of the Early Church), he acknowledged to have been Caxton's

translations. The latter he stated to have been " translated out of frenche into englisshe by william caxton of Westmynstre, and fynysshed at the laste daye of his lyff ". Even at this time, before he left Westminster for London, his work was so much in demand that he had to sub-let some of his contracts to a fellow-printer, Julian Notary, who, in the year 1498, had moved from London to King Street, Westminster.

John Lettou, a man of Lithuanian origin, was the first City of London printer. He had begun to print there at least as early as the year 1480. He then entered into partnership with William of Machlinia (Mechlin, or Malines, in Belgium). When the partnership was dissolved, William continued the business alone until his last surviving effort at printing in the year 1486. This was a bull of Innocent VIII, pope from 1484 to 1492, which gave the papal confirmation to the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. It was William, also, who printed *The Revelation of St. Nicholas to a Monk of Evesham*, a book which describes the journey of a soul through purgatory, the adventures he met with, and the stories he was told by the people whom he met. Another book, interesting because it was the first of its kind to be printed in England, came from William's press. It contained the statutes or laws made during the first year of Richard III.

It was not the desire of competing with these printers which drew Wynkyn de Worde to London. A more serious rival had arisen in Richard Pynson, also a foreigner, from Normandy, who took over the business of William of Machlinia some time about the year 1490. At first, Pynson lived and printed just outside Temple Bar, but from the beginning of the sixteenth century he is found " at the Sign of the George ", in Fleet Street, beside St. Dunstan's church. When he died, in the year 1530, he had printed more than 300 books. He and his

London contemporary, Wynkyn de Worde, dominated the world of printing for nearly forty years. Of the two, Pynson was the better educated, though as a craftsman he is little, if any, the superior. The two lived and worked almost opposite to each other in Fleet Street.

Before he left Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde sold much of his stock-in-trade—some of his woodcuts to Julian Notary, and some of his type to a printer at Oxford and even to one at York. He then bought new type and began to appeal to the popular taste by issuing small books at prices within the means of a large number of people—at least, as many as could read. During the year of the Coronation of Henry VIII (1509), he appears to have done what may be called " a roaring trade ", for he published in this year alone more than twenty books. So great was the demand for his books that he opened a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, which was already becoming the place of business and the home of foreign " stationers " (see page 125), and the chief centre of the bookselling trade. He was able, too, to employ translators. His " signs " were, in Fleet Street, " The Sun ", and, in St. Paul's Churchyard, " Diva Maria Pietatis " (" Divine Mary of Pity "). It was natural that such an energetic man should outstrip his competitors in the number of his books and in the volume of his trade. The number of his books has been estimated at about 1,200.

For " The Sign of the Sun ", which consisted of two houses, in one of which he worked, and in the other of which he lived, he paid an annual rent of 36*s.* 8*d.* It is not easy to compare this sum with amounts paid in house-rents during previous centuries. In the fourteenth century, a habitable house for a family could be rented in York for 10*s.* to 12*s.* a year. Allowing for a rise in prices of 25 per cent. in three centuries, the inference would be that Wynkyn's two houses were commodious,

and such as would befit the position of one of the leading printers in the capital. He boasted several patrons of rank and wealth. Amongst them were Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII, who died very soon after her son, and Robert Thorney, a city merchant and a lucrative customer. Of the patronage of the king's mother he was especially proud, for he frequently describes himself as "prenter to the king's mother". The colophon of one of his books runs:

> Emprynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the soone by Wynkyn de Worde printer unto the moost excellent pryncesse my lady the Kynges moder. In the yere of our Lorde God M.CCCCC.ix, the xxiii daye of Marche.

And, in the short time which elapsed between the deaths of Henry VII and his mother, he describes himself as "printer to the king's grandmother". Of the large number of books that came from his press, it is obviously impossible to name even a selection of them. They consisted of books on theology, devotion and history, service-books, grammars and dictionaries. One of the most interesting of them consists of a collection of Christmas carols, amongst them being the carol about the boar's head:

> The bores head in hande bring I,
> With garlands gay and rosemary.
> I pray you all synge merely,
> *Qui estis in convivio.*

Some of his books are so curious that it can only be supposed that he printed them because there was a market for them. Amongst these is one which contains questions and answers for children, such as:

> *Q.* How many cows' tails would reach the moon?
> *A.* One, if it should be long enough.

He issued a *Book of Songs* set to music, and a poem entitled: *The Complaynt of the Too Soon Married.* One

writer points out that, at the time when the poem was printed, the printer had celebrated the 55th anniversary of his own marriage—so that he must have been married very young—though his wife had already died. The tragedies which befel his domestic life are referred to in the account-book of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster :

1498.	Item, for the knell of Elizabeth de Worde . .	vj*d.*
	Item, for iij torches with the grete bell for her .	viij*d.*
1505.	Item, for the knelle of Julian de Worde, with the grete bell	vj*d.*

The last entry probably explains why, after de Worde's death, his business was continued, not by any son of his, but by his two executors, James Gaver and John Byddell, who were already in business as printers and had probably at one time been employed by him. In his will, which was made on June 5th, 1534, he left to each of his apprentices £3-worth of books. Seven others, who in his will are called " servants ", would be his work-people. He must have been a man of some substance, for he was able to direct that at his death enough land should be bought to produce a rent of not less than 20*s.* a year to be spent on the cost of singing a mass for his soul for ever.

The place that Wynkyn de Worde occupies in the early history of printing in this country is a high one. After Caxton, he is the best known, as he was the most popular, of the band of pioneers of printing. Unlike Pynson, he never occupied the honourable position of " King's Printer ", remaining loyal to the memory of " the king's mother ". While his books, many of which are small, are not distinguished for their contents, his type was better than Caxton's, and the engravings which adorn his books are of a high order. It was through his technical skill and his output that he gained the place he occupies amongst our early printers.

Richard Pynson

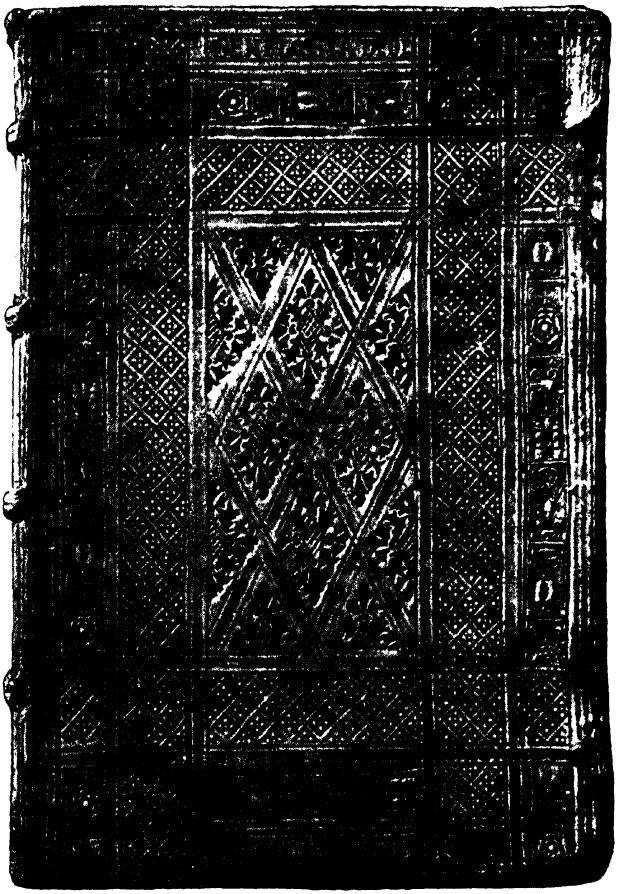
As has been mentioned on page 116, Richard Pynson had succeeded to the printing business of William of Machlinia by the year 1490. At once he leapt into fame by issuing an edition, illustrated with woodcuts, of *The Canterbury Tales*. In the introduction to this book he refers to Caxton as " my worshipful master ". It is not now thought that Pynson had been one of Caxton's apprentices, for it appears that he learned the art of printing at Rouen. He was referring only to his indebtedness to Caxton's own edition of this great poem. For a craftsman, Pynson had been well educated, if a " Richard Pynson, Norman ", who was a student at the university of Paris, is the same man as the printer. At any rate, he was one of the band of " scholarly printers " in London during the first half of the sixteenth century. One of his early books was aimed at helping English visitors to France to make themselves understood there. It begins :

Vecy ung bon liure a apprendre a parler frauncheys.
(" Here is a good book from which to learn to speak French.")

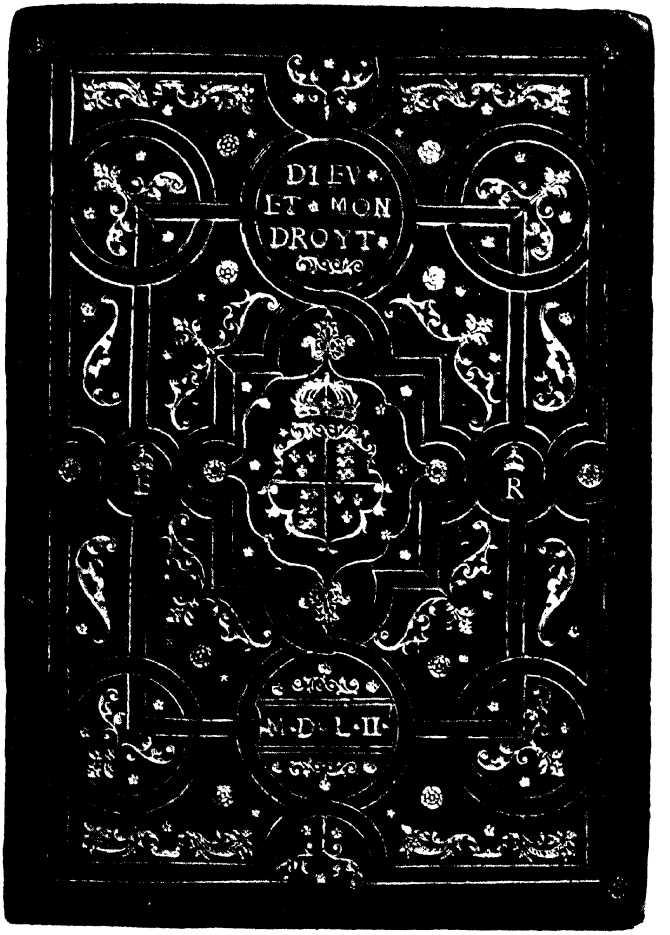
A little later, Pynson printed a Latin-English Dictionary supposed to have been compiled by a monk of King's Lynn, and a cookery-book which opens :

Here bigynneth a noble boke of festes royalle and cokery, a boke for a pryncis housholde, and the makyng thereof accordynge as ye schal fynde more playnly within this boke.

Before the directions for making dishes begin, there are descriptions of certain banquets, on ceremonial occasions, of the kind that were common in the middle ages. One of them is " of the feast of my lorde chancellor archbishop of Yorke at his stallacion in Yorke ". During the middle ages, feasts on important occasions were shamefully waste-



Binding of "Genelogia Deorum" (Paris, 1511), made by Garrett Godfrey at Cambridge not long after the date of publication



Binding of Bembo's "Historia Veneta" (Venice, 1551), bound by "King Edward's binder." Brown calf, tooled in gold, the interlacing strap-work being painted black

ful. Some feasts lasted for several days if the persons in whose honour and at whose expense they were given were important and rich enough. A king, or a bishop, or an abbot, or a nobleman, was expected to be lavish in his entertainment of his friends and dependants. When we read a ballad which begins :

Fulle fyftene daies that feste was holden,

we are not surprised to learn that even for years afterwards the income of the host might be crippled by the debt which his hospitality had caused. " My lorde chancellor archbishop of Yorke ", at whose " stallacion " the banquet was given which is described in Pynson's book, was George Neville, archbishop from 1465 to 1476. Another writer gives details of the food and drink that were provided on the same occasion. He claims—surely an exaggeration—that, in addition to prodigious quantities of ale and wine that were drunk, and to " pottage, biscuits, wafers and made dishes without end ", 8,590 animals of various kinds, from oxen to rabbits, 21,700 birds, 612 fish, 1,506 pasties, 5,000 dishes of jelly, 400 tarts and 6,000 custards were provided for the guests. And he gives details of the numbers of each kind of animal, bird and fish.

Of religious books, one that came from Pynson's press is claimed to be the most beautiful book printed in England up to the year 1500, when it was issued. It is a copy of the Missal made for John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal, the minister of Henry VII and the inventor of " Morton's Fork " for extracting gifts out of people. Only four copies are known to be in existence. Another of Pynson's religious books, *The Imytacion and Followynge of Criste*, is an English version of the immortal work of Thomas à Kempis, one of the " Brethren of the Common Life ", who had died only thirty-two

years earlier than the date at which the book was printed.

The greatest of all public rewards for printers came to Pynson in the year 1509, when, on the accession of Henry VIII, he was appointed " prenter unto the Kynges Most Noble Grace ". It was in this capacity that he printed, in the year 1521, the book which gained for Henry VIII the title, *Fidei Defensor* (Defender of the Faith), a title which our monarchs still retain, and which is stamped on all our coins in the initials " F.D.". Of this work, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, a goodly number of copies were printed on vellum, very few of which now remain. Other notable issues from Pynson's press include (1) the first print in England of the *Chronicles* of Jean Froissart, the historian of men and events in central Europe in his time, who died in the year 1410 ; (2) a book on Arithmetic, the first of its kind in England ; and (3) an edition of Chaucer's poems which is thought to have been intended to be only the beginning of a complete set of Chaucer's works. It includes *The Canterbury Tales*.

Pynson died in the year 1530, five years before Wynkyn de Worde. Like Caxton and de Worde, he was not survived by a son, his son Richard having died not long before him. Of Pynson's 300-or-more books, the majority are on theology, morality, grammar, language, and lives of the saints, with service-books and a large number of legal works. The legal works which he printed as King's Printer included an edition of Magna Carta, and Annals from Edward III to Edward IV. At the time of his death he was engaged in printing a book in French for John Palsgrave, one of the prebendaries of St. Paul's Cathedral. As the royal permission to print the book was dated September 2nd, 1530, and Pynson had died some months earlier, the setting-up of the type was finished " by Johan Haukyns the xviii day of July the yere of our Lorde God MCCCCC and XXX ". Pynson's

reputation is firmly established. He is one of " the big three " whose art looms large for more than half-a-century at the very end of the middle ages. By the time that he and Wynkyn de Worde had finished their work, printing had become the handmaid of the New Learning in this country, and the days of manuscripts, illuminated and otherwise, was at an end.

The work of the Westminster and London printers in the first century of the practice of the art of printing in this country was far greater in quantity than might be supposed. During this period, Westminster, London and Southwark produced more than 100 printers, who issued, in all, many thousands of separate books. While some of these were only different editions of the same work, the total number of copies issued must have run into hundreds of thousands. Very many of the books are now of value only as examples of early printing, engraving and binding. Others, if they are of early date, are rarely for sale, and, when they do come into the market, command high prices from " bibliophiles ", to use the Greek name for book-lovers. Some are in themselves things of great beauty, clean, well-set-up, with wide margins, and beautifully illustrated. At times, a search through these books reveals something of the lovely and familiar, as in a book of hours printed in the year 1522 by Wynkyn de Worde, where the well-known verse is to be found :

God be in my head
And in myn understanding.
God be in myn eyen
And in my lokynge.
God be in my mouth
And in my spekynge.
God be in my harte
And in my thynkynge.
God be at myn end
And at my departynge.

The services which, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, the printing-press rendered to this country cannot be over-estimated. Already, before the end of the fifteenth century, the English tongue had triumphed as the language of the literature of England. The peasant and his thoughts had been described in *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, and the middle-class people and their joys and sorrows had found their poet in Geoffrey Chaucer. The romances of *Morte d'Arthur* were delighting the young with stories of chivalry and honour. Caxton and his successors made these things popular by means of the printed word. Printing came at a time when new ideas were being born and when the middle ages were giving place to modern times. For centuries, all thought and education had been directed by the Church. Even leeches could not practise without a licence from the bishop of the diocese. All this was about to be changed. The foreign printers were putting out copies of the classical authors, and it was not long before these authors were being read in the "grammar" schools. It was just at this time that, in this country, printing found its feet. By the middle of the sixteenth century, popular literature in English, classical books in Greek and Latin, and religious controversy, had come to depend on the printing-press. Printing was not only a sign of, but also a most valuable help towards establishing, a new age. A man who lived in the reign of Edward III would have been "at home" if he could have returned to earth in the reign of Edward IV. But, if a man who had fought at Bosworth Field could have come back again to this life to fight against the Armada, he would have found himself in a new world. That new world, printing helped more than anything else to create.

Strange to say—strange, that is, for those times—for nearly sixty years after Caxton began to print books there

was little interference either with the import of books from abroad or with the settlement in this country of foreigners who wished to engage in the book trade in one or more of its branches. Nowadays, the author, the printer, the binder, the publisher and the retailer of a book are different people or groups of people. In the sixteenth century, the man who bought unbound books from abroad, and who bound them and then sold them, thus being bookbinder, retailer and publisher, was called a stationer. While most London stationers supplied the demand for books in London, some of the more enterprising supplied also other towns. London was then, as it has remained, the centre of the English publishing trade. An act passed in the year 1484—the year before the battle of Bosworth Field—gave freedom to foreigners to print, bind and sell books in this country. At first, two out of every three stationers trading in London were of foreign birth. They settled mainly round St. Paul's Cathedral. Then, as the dispute between Henry VIII and the Pope reached its height, and the King was declared "Supreme Head of the Church of England", an act was passed which forbade the import of books from abroad and prevented any foreigner from carrying on, in this country, the trade of a stationer. The result was that, except for a short time during the reign of Queen Mary Tudor, when service-books were again imported from Paris and Rouen in scores, the printing-trade became the monopoly of English printers. Once again, the English language came into its own.

As might have been expected, the stationers, most of whom were also printers, combined to form a company. Little is known of the early activities of this company, but at first it was made illegal for any stationer to bind as apprentice any but a native-born Englishman. In order to gain the control of printing, the Parliament of Queen

Mary " incorporated ", as it is called, the London Company of Stationers, that is, made it a body subject to the control of Parliament. The effect of this was that the printing and publishing trades became " controlled " for upwards of three centuries. This control was felt less in the reign of James I than at any time while it lasted. As at all times when the safety of the state is regarded as being in danger, the period of the Civil War saw a tightening of this control, which was exercised by the Star Chamber. Whereas, under Mary Tudor, only members of the Stationers' Company were allowed to print and publish books, the Star Chamber did not interfere with the printing-presses of Oxford and Cambridge. But, at all times during the period of control, a careful watch was kept for all foreign books, and the contents of all books printed in England were supposed to be scrutinised before the books were published. It was when John Milton had disobeyed the law which required all books to be licensed for publication that he wrote, in the year 1644, his famous plea for the freedom of the press entitled *Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.* One of the best-known passages in this book runs :

> As good, almost, kill a man as kill a good book. Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image ; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye.

When it was found impossible to proceed against Milton, who by then had written many of his sonnets and such great works as *Il Penseroso*, *L'Allegro*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*, a victory had been gained, at any rate for a short time, for the freedom of the press. *Paradise Lost*, however, was nearly prevented from being published because of the lines in the first book :

> As when the sun, new-risen,
> Looks through the horizontal, misty air,
> Shorn of his beams, or, from behind the moon,
> In dim eclipse, and with fear of change
> Perplexes monarchs.

When the chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop being then censor of the press, read the words :

> . . . . . and with fear of change
> Perplexes monarchs,

he hesitated before recommending to the archbishop that the poem might be published. That was in September, 1666, when the period of the Commonwealth was still uncomfortably near for those who feared that the king might have to go on his travels again.

The second half of the sixteenth century, therefore, was a period when the censorship of the press was being exercised by the Government of the day. The object of the censorship was not to stamp out the printing-press, but to regulate and limit its activities. Fortunately, there was a demand for books that were welcomed by those who wielded the power of censorship. In consequence, by the time that Wynkyn de Worde died in the year 1535, other places besides London and Westminster had their printing-presses. A book had been printed at Oxford on the Apostles' Creed as early as the year 1478. St. Albans followed hard on the heels of Oxford. Of the first printer there, nothing is known except from a reference in one of Wynkyn de Worde's books, where he is called " one somtyme scole master of saynt Albans ". Eight of his books have come to light, one of them being *The Book of St. Albans*, which tells about hunting, hawking and heraldry. Printed in the year 1486, it is the earliest English book which has initials in colour, after the fashion

of many medieval manuscripts. Books were imported for sale in York before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is possible that Frederick Freez, who was a bookbinder and stationer there, also printed books of his own. The first book from a printing-press in York that has survived is a copy of the *Pica* or *Pye*, a directory for priests, which was printed by Hugo Goes in the year 1509. Only two copies of this book are known, one of which is in the library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and the other in the York Minster Library. No book printed at Cambridge has survived that is earlier than the year 1520 or thereabouts. By the middle of the sixteenth century, other places in this country had their presses, amongst them being Hereford, Worcester, Exeter, Canterbury, Tavistock, Ipswich and Abingdon. Of these places, Worcester was one of the first provincial towns to have a newspaper.

We must now return to the London printers, and give some information of their work during the sixteenth century.

The honour of being King's Printer gave to the holders of the office the right to sell their own books. It also compelled them to set their own work aside when any royal or government printing had to be done. During the controversies of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, the printing-press was largely used. Indeed, it was at this time that its use as an agent in controversy was first realised. It has been already seen that Richard Pynson printed the book which gained for Henry VIII the title, *Fidei Defensor*. During the First half of the century, several editions of the Bible in English were issued. Coverdale's Bible of the year 1535 was printed abroad, and it was not until two years later that an English printer, James Nicolson, of Southwark, was able to print it with the words : " Set forth with the

kinges moost gracious licence". In the same year, Richard Grafton issued an edition of Matthew's Bible, and a version authorised by Henry VIII in the year 1541. Without the aid of the printing-press the Bible would have remained almost as unfamiliar at the end of the sixteenth century as it was at the end of the fifteenth. Tyndale's version of the New Testament was issued by John Day in the year 1548. Those who, for the first time, heard the Bible read to them when they were grown men and women must have been impressed with what they heard to an extent which we can only imagine. The Book of Common Prayer commonly called the First Prayer Book of Edward VI had to be printed twice, in March, 1549, and June, 1549. Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch were chosen respectively to print these issues. Grafton printed also *The Book of Common Prayer Noted*, that is, with music set to those parts which might be sung, and the Second Prayer Book of 1552. He managed to be on both sides by printing the proclamations of both Lady Jane Grey and Mary Tudor. Sermons were apparently read by some people, for John Day and others issued books of sermons by Calvin, Latimer and Hooper. Day's press was an extremely busy one, for he issued more than 300 books, including an edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1562), which, on account of its very long title when this is put down in full, is known as "Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*". This book contains woodcuts of the burning of heretics at Smithfield.

The dust and heat of controversy, however, was not the only use to which the printing-press was put in these troublous times. Other and more scientific studies were being pursued, to the ultimate benefit of the English people. The first Southwark printer, Peter Treveris, made a venture in the year 1516 with *The Grete Herball*. Over a woodcut of a garden, in which four people, Adam

and Eve and two others, are working, a claim is made for the excellence of herbal remedies :

> The grete herball, which giveth perfyt knowledge and understanding of all manner of herbes and their gracyous vertues, which God hath ordeyned for our prosperous welfare and helpe ; for they hele and cure all manner of dyseases and sekenesses that fall, or mysfortune to all maner of creatoures of God created, practysed by many expert and wyse masters . . . also it giveth partfyte understandynge of the book lately prented by me named The noble experiens of the vertuous handwarke of Surgery.

The Work of Surgery (1525) has a similar foreword :

> The noble experyence of the vertuous handy werke of surgeri, practysed and compyled of the most experte mayster Jherome of Bruynswyke, borne in Straesborowe in Almayne y^e^ whiche hath it fyrst proued and trewly founde by his awne dayly exercysynge. . . . Here also shall ye fynde for to cure & hele all wounded members and other swellynges. Item, yf ye fynde ony names of herbes or of other thynges whereof ye haue no knowlege y^t^ shall ye knowe playnly by the potecarys. Item Here shall you fynde also for to make salues, plasters, powders, oyles and drynkes for woundes. Item, whoso desyreth of this science y^e^ plane knowlege let hym oftentimes rede this boke and than he shall gette perfyte understandynge of the noble surgery.

To prove the claims made in the preface, there follow woodcuts of two heads, the skulls of which are broken ; and, lying on each, is an instrument for the operation of piecing the broken parts together. Another illustration is of the setting of a broken leg on a battlefield !

In his issue of *Polychronicon* (see page 65), by Ralph Higden, Treveris enriched English printing in the year 1527 with a title-page, which is reproduced on page 131. It is one of the first title-pages found in a book printed in England. Below the royal crown, the bust of Henry VIII is flanked with the royal shield-of-arms and that of the city of London. St. George of England killing the

Polycronycon

Dragon, and the monogram of the printer, complete a magnificent design. The book was

> Imprented at Southwerke by me Peter Treveris at y^e^ expences of John Reynes boke seller at the sygne of saynt George in Poules chyrchyarde. The yere of our lorde god M.CCCCC. and xxvii. the xvi. daye of Maye.

Thomas Godfrey, improving on what any English printer had done before him, issued the whole of the works of Geoffrey Chaucer. *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, as a printed book, is due to the enterprise of Robert Crowley (1550), while, eleven years later, Owen Rogers tried a version of it in prose—a questionable effort. What would be thought of anyone who should turn the plays of Shakespeare into prose?

The voyages at the end of the sixteenth century which made English seamen famous received attention from the printing-press, but far less than might have been expected. In 1561, John Sampson, or Awdley, printed:

> The Description of Swedland, Gotland & Finland, the auncient Estate of theyr Kynges, the moste horrible & incredible tiranny of the second Christiern kyng of Denmarke against the Swecians, the politicke attaynyng of the Crowne of Gostave. Collected . . . by George North. . . . Imprinted in Litle Britaine streete by great St. Bartelmews. 1531. Oct. 28.

This book ends with the Lord's prayer in Swedish.

No other printer gave more space to accounts of voyages and other exploits than Thomas Hacket, who sold books in "Cannynge strete at the sygne of the Pope's Head", and in St. Paul's Churchyard "at the sygne of the Key". In the year 1566 he printed:

> A true and perfect description of the last voyage or Navigation attempted to Terra Florida by Captain John Rebaut, deputie generall for the Frenchmen, 1565. Truely set forth by those that returned from thence, wherein are contayned things as lamentable to heare as they haue been cruelly executed.

Ribault and his companions had fallen into the hands of the Mexicans, and nearly all of them had been hanged, " not as Frenchmen, but as heretics ".

Two years later, Hacket issued, through another printing-house, *The Histories of Polybius*,

> the most famous and worthy Cronographer Polybius, Discoursing of the Warres betwixt the Romans and Carthaginenses. . . . Wherevnto is annexed an Abstract compendiously coarcted [extracted] out of the life and worthy acts perpetrate by oure puissant Prince King Henry the fift.

Hacket was interested in discovery, which was being advanced at this time at a rapid rate. He claimed to reform " the errors of the auncient cosmographers " in a translation from French into English called *The Newe Found Worlde* (1568),

> or Antarctic, wherein is contained wonderful & strange things as well of humaine creatures as of Beastes, Fishes, Foules & Serpents, Trees, and Mines of Golde & Silver.

Navigation received his attention in *A Regiment* (that is, a rule) *for the Sea*,

> Conteyning most profitable Rules, Mathematical experiences and perfect knowledge of Navigation for all Coastes and Countreys : most needeful and necessarie for all Seafaring Men and Traueilers as pilotes, Marines, Marchants, etc.

And, to crown all, he had printed for him *The Exploytes of Syr Frauncis Drake* (1587). It contained :

> The true and perfecte Newes of the Worthy and Valiant exploytes performed & doone by that Valiant Knight Syr Frauncis Drake : Not only at Sancto Domingo & Carthagena but also nowe at Cales & vpon the Coast of Spane.

And the device is of a ship with the shield-of-arms of the Queen on the flag, and the figure of St. George of England

at fore and mizen. The reader is stimulated in over 70 verses, which begin :

> Tryumph, O England, and reioyce,
> And prayse thy God vncessantly
> For thys thy Quene, that pearle of choyse,
> Whych God doth blesse with victory.
> In Countryes strange, both farre and neere,
> All raging foes her force doth feare.

In writing his historical plays, Shakespeare had to rely on such printed accounts of the history of England and Scotland as were available at the time. The works of the great historians of the middle ages he could not use, for they were written in Latin. He relied on the help which he could get from histories published when he was a small boy. Here again the printers of the sixteenth century came to the rescue.

Edward Hall, a lawyer by profession, and, at his death in the year 1547, a judge in the court of the Sheriff of London, is best remembered for his *Chronicle*, which covers the reigns of the kings from Henry IV to Henry VIII. It is not certain, however, how much he wrote himself. The *Chronicle* was printed for the first time, in the year 1550, by Richard Grafton, who claimed that he not only altered much of what Hall had written but also composed a great deal of it himself. One of the woodcuts in the book represents Henry VIII in Council. The book is worthy of its dedication to

> The most mightie, verteous and excellent
> prince Edward the sixt.

Nothing certain is known about Raphael Holinshed, or Hollingshead, the historian whose works Shakespeare used more than those of any other writer of history, before he went to London to seek his fortune and got a place in the printing-office of Reginald Wolf, to whom he

wrote in one of his books that he was "singularly beholden". It was a fortunate chance that, being a good linguist, he came across Wolf, who just then was in need of somebody who knew foreign languages. Wolf had been working for some time on what promised to be a large book on history. He possessed the manuscript of a famous antiquary and traveller, John Leland (1506 to 1552). Leland had been chaplain and antiquary to Henry VIII, who sent him on a journey to all the religious houses in the country to search for their records and other books. Even after working on his history for twenty-five years, Wolf had not finished it when he died in the year 1573. With help from Holinshed, three publishers, George Bishop and John and Luke Harrison, undertook to publish the history. It appeared on July 1st, 1578—a mighty work in two volumes, well illustrated with portraits, pictures of battles and the like. The first volume contains the history of England to the Norman Conquest, of Scotland to the year 1571 and of Ireland to the year 1547. The second continues the history of England from 1066 to 1575. The work at once leapt into favour. When Holinshed died, in the year 1580, he could not have foreseen that the greatest dramatist of all time, who was then a youth of sixteen, would base his historical plays on his writings, and that for a long time he would be regarded as an authority on the history of his country.

It was during the sixteenth century that, with the foundation of schools by Colet and others, the history of education in this country began a new chapter. Roger Ascham (1515 to 1568), who was born near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, became one of the most learned men of his day in Latin and Greek. When he died, Queen Elizabeth, with whom he used to read every day, said that she would rather have lost ten thousand pounds than her

tutor. Ascham's immortal work is called *The Scholemaster.* It was printed by John Day. During the years from about 1546 to 1586, Day issued from his press several hundred books. One of these was

> The Schole Master, or plain and perfite way of teachyng children to vnderstand, write and speake the Latin tongue, but specially purposed for the priuate brynging vp of youth in Gentlemen and Noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such as haue forgot the Latin tonge, and would by themselves, without a Scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paynes, recouer a sufficient habilitie to vnderstand, write and speak Latin. By Roger Ascham. An. 1570.

Day worked "over Aldersgate". In some of his books he tells us that they "are to be sold underneath the gate", where his shop was.

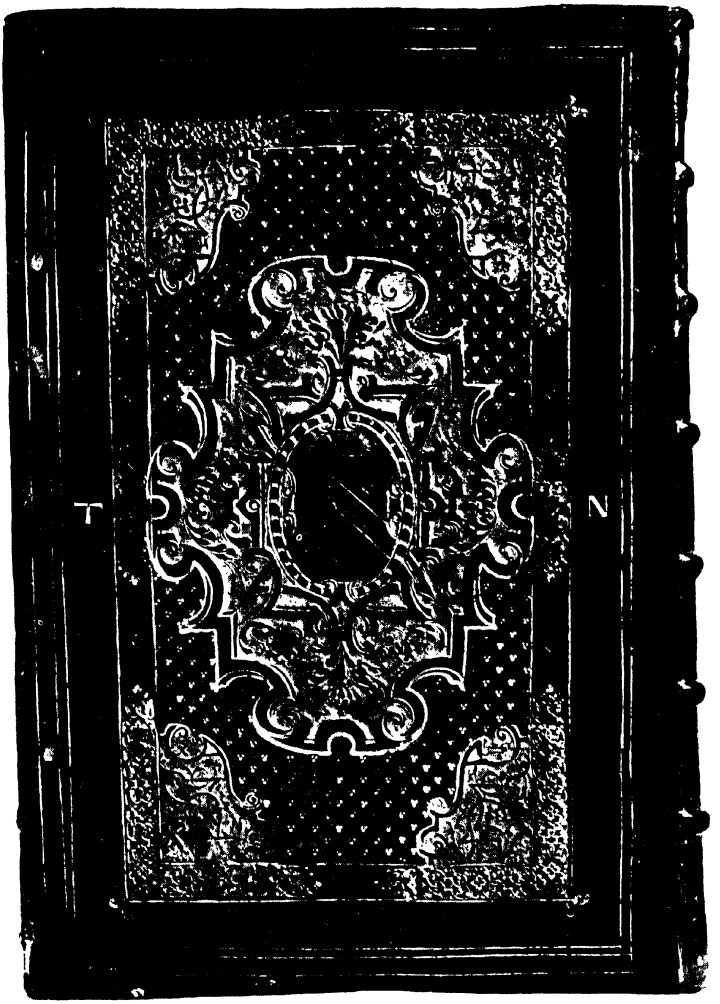
Many children learn Geometry. Not many years ago, the term *geometry* was applied to the study of the actual drawing of exact figures with ruler and compasses. The study of the properties of these figures was called by the name of the most famous geometrician of all time, *Euclid,* who lived in the third century B.C. In the year 1570, John Day published

> The Elements of Geometrie of the most Auncient Philosopher Evclide of Megara. Faithfully (now first) translated into the Englishe toung by H. Billingsley, Citizen of London. Whereunto are annexed certaine Scholies, Annotations and Inuentions of the best mathematicians, both of time past and of our age.

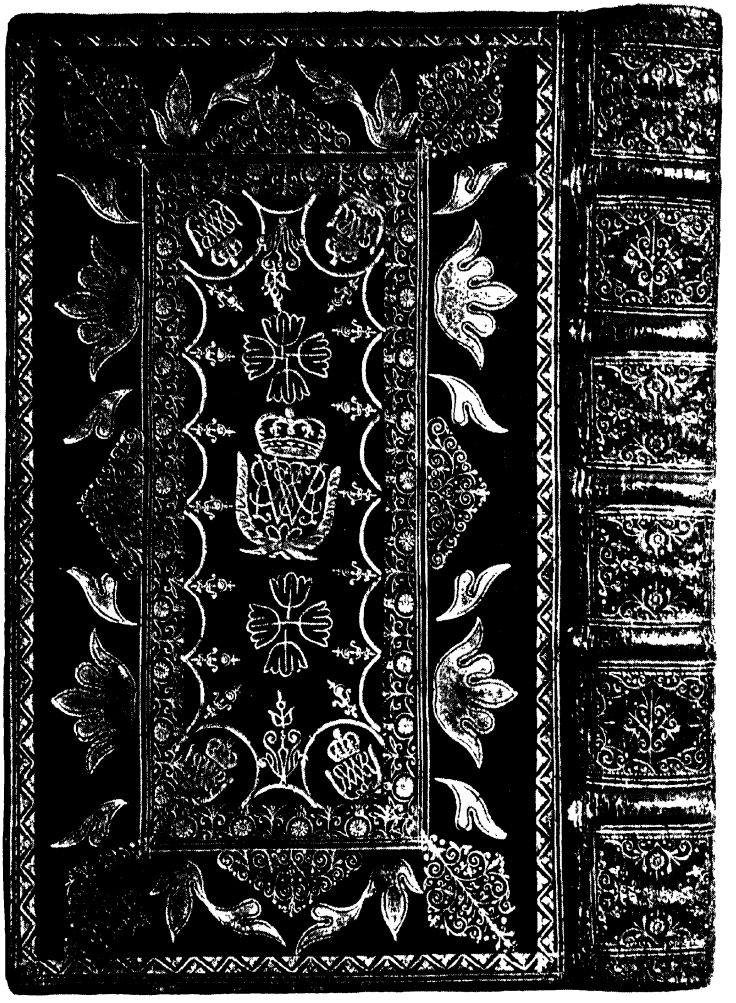
The book has

> a fruitfull Praeface made by Mr. J. Dee, specifying the chief Mathematicall Sciences, what they are and whereunto commodious; where also are disclosed certaine new Secrets Mathematicall and Mechanicall, vntill these our daies greatly missed.

Dr. John Dee, who is here mentioned, was one of the most famous writers on scientific subjects which this



Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" printed in London by John Day in 1570. The Arms on the binding are those of Archbishop Parker, 1504–1575, and the initials T. N. of Thomas Nevile, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge



Binding of William Salmon's Seplasium. The compleat English physician. 8vo. London. 1693. A dedication copy to Queen Mary II

country produced before Sir Isaac Newton. He will be mentioned again in this book. (See page 164.)

And, finally—for the account of the sixteenth-century printers of this country cannot be prolonged—a book for children was published by William Copland, who is said to have learned the art of printing from Wynkyn de Worde. It appeared in the year 1560 under the title *Jacke Jugeler*, and is

> A new Enterlued for Chyldren to playe, named Jacke Jugeler, both wytte and very playsant. Newly Imprented. The Players names. Mayster Boungrace, Dame Coye, Jacke Jugeler, Jenkin Careaway, Ales trype and go, a Galant, a Gentlewoman. The Vyce. A Lackey. A Mayd.

The short colophon runs :

> Finis. Imprinted at London in Lothbury by me Wyllyam Copland.

And Thomas Geminie, in a book on Anatomy printed in the year 1559, included the earliest known portrait of Queen Elizabeth, which was printed on vellum.

From January 17th to April 30th, 1940, there was held, at the Pierpont Morgan Library, 29 East 36th Street, New York, an exhibition of early printed books in celebration of the 500th anniversary of the invention of printing by movable types in the year 1440. The claim of Johann Gutenberg to have been the inventor of, and to have actually used, movable types as early as the year 1440 finds its most enthusiastic supporters in the United States of America. Indeed, in that country the interest in early printers is far more keen than it is in this country. In the exhibition, there were ninety-seven rare treasures, four of them being manuscripts, and six of them books printed from blocks. The remainder were books printed before the year 1500 at various places—Mainz, Utrecht, Rome, Lübeck, Strasburg, Cologne, Bologna, Milan,

Venice, Naples, Florence, Verona, Paris, Lyons, Bruges, Antwerp, Delft, Louvain, Burgos, Saragossa, Westminster, Oxford, St. Albans and London. The treasures in the exhibition include two copies of the Gutenberg Bible (1456), two copies of the psalter printed by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer (1457 and 1459), the Bamberg Bible (1458), the Fables of Æsop printed in Greek (about the year 1480), Caxton's first dated book (1477), his *Game and Playe of the Chesse* (about 1482) and his *Canterbury Tales* (1484), two copies of *The Book of St. Albans* (1486 and 1496), and *Chronicles of England* (printed by William of Machlinia, 1486). What a feast for the lover of early printed books is here! Americans who care for these products of the early printing-press are proud to have, in their country and in collections which are properly housed and jealously guarded, those rare books which enthusiasts amongst them have acquired over a period of years of patient search.

Of all the books printed in England, the first Folio of Shakespeare, the form in which the whole of his plays were first published in the year 1623, commands the highest price. The value of this coveted book depends on its being in its original binding of calf-skin, and on whether it possesses any blank leaves, which only one known copy possesses! In the year 1907, the sum of £8,600 was paid for a copy which had belonged to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. Within a quarter-of-a-century of this time, no less than £23,000 was paid for a copy. Yet, in the year 1812, when the library of the Duke of Roxburghe was sold, a buyer paid only £100 for a copy. And the price to the public when the book was first issued was only £1. Some years ago, an exhibition of rare Shakespearean books, including some copies of his plays printed in quarto size before the first Folio was issued, was held at a well-known bookseller's shop in Phila-

delphia, the total value in money of the whole of the books in the exhibition being then estimated at nearly £200,000 in English money. These fabulous prices reflect the desire for possession that consumes those who have acquired a love of early printed books.

Neither the monetary values of some of their books centuries after their deaths, nor the immense influence of the printed word, could have been foreseen by Lourens Coster, Johann Gutenberg, Johann Fust, Peter Schoeffer, William Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, or any other of the early printers. From the single sheet to the book and the newspaper, the development of printing took place within just over two centuries after the art had been invented. The story which has been here told shews how quickly the art developed, and the uses to which, within a century of the publication of William Caxton's first book, it was put. If, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the artistic side of the art tended to be lost in the practical, and if, during the nineteenth century, mass production and machinery tended to smother individuality and spontaneity, the artistic possibilities have never been entirely lost sight of. William Morris and others produced books as lovely as any which have ever been seen. In our own day, there are designers of type, printers, book-binders and publishers, who eagerly seize the opportunity, when it affords itself, of working together to make books that are a joy to behold. Printing remains one of the most useful of the arts, and it can still be one of the most lovely.

CHAPTER VI

LIBRARIES

WHEREVER records have been made, they have been jealously preserved by those who have made them. As has been seen in Chapter I, the history of making records is a very long one, almost as old as the human race. In this chapter we are to learn something about the history of the library from the earliest times.

The word *library* is used in two senses, to denote a collection of records, mainly in books (Latin *liber*, book), and a place where these records are stored. Taken all together, a modern library is the scene of many activities. Users of libraries can borrow books from " lending libraries ", consult books in " reference libraries ", read newspapers and other periodical literature where these are provided, and often see, in exhibitions of interesting written or printed matter, rare and curious literature. Libraries such as the Reading Room and the Departments of Manuscripts and Printed Books at the British Museum contain vast stores not only of rare and valuable books, maps, drawings and other kinds of records, but also, since the passing of the Act of Parliament which ordered it, a copy of every book which is published. The libraries of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge—the former being known as the Bodleian library because it owed its beginning to Sir Thomas Bodley, who died in the year 1612—are used by students from all over the world as well as by members of those universities. Like the British Museum, they are the proud possessors of rare and valuable manuscripts and printed books. The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge have their own libraries, many of which own similar treasures as well as a variety of

modern books for the use of their members. The modern universities are well provided with large and useful libraries, the contents of which are always being added to. Numbers of libraries of private foundation, such as the John Rylands library at Manchester, exist all over the country. In London, Sion College, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, the Inns of Court, the Royal Society and a score of other official and private bodies, have their own collections of books for the use of their own members. And, last but not least, every city, county council, town and village provides library facilities for the general public. The writer of the Book of Ecclesiastes might have been writing to-day when he wrote : " Of making many books there is no end ". But few would now agree with what he added : " and much study is a weariness of the flesh ".

Clay tablets, papyrus, parchment and paper—there have been, and still are, collections of books made of all these. It does not matter to us whether libraries formed of collections of clay tablets or libraries consisting of books made of papyrus come first. It is claimed for clay tablets that they existed in Babylonia, in Ur of the Chaldees and in other cities, as early as two thousand years before Christ. Some of the champions of papyrus go back a mere five centuries earlier than this for their first examples. During the excavations on the site of Nineveh about a century ago, about 10,000 clay tablets were found which, in size, varied from one inch to one foot square. They were numbered so that they could easily be referred to. But clay tablets are brittle, and many of them were broken when they were found, like some of those which belonged to the Assyrian king, Assur-bani-pal, of the seventh century before Christ, which are now in the British Museum.

But papyrus, too, is of great antiquity. The earliest

Egyptian libraries consisted of papyri. It is recorded that Rameses I, who reigned over Egypt in the fourteenth century before Christ, had a large library. When the Athenians overran Egypt in the middle of the fifth century before Christ, they found, in temples and royal tombs, more than 36,000 such books. In spite of disasters due to invaders, the libraries of Egypt continued to be famous. It was with their help that, in the third century before Christ, seventy-two Egyptian Jews compiled a translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, known as the Septuagint (a word that means "seventy", referring to the approximate number of the translators).

The city-states of the ancient Greeks were not ruled by kings, and the earliest collections of Greek books of which there is any record were therefore made, not by kings but by scholars and thinkers such as Euclid, Plato and Aristotle. Aristotle's books, after being owned by his pupil Theophrastus, who left them to his pupil, Nereus, ultimately came into the possession of the Roman general, Sulla, who took them to Rome. The Egyptians, however, continued to write and to collect books. After the Egyptian fleet had been burnt in the harbour of Alexandria in a fire which also destroyed one of the great libraries of the city, Mark Antony gave to Cleopatra the books which he had seized from Pergamos, the place at which, it is said, parchment was first used.

At first, the Romans were not much interested in books, being mainly men of action. But, as time went on, and the classical writers began to produce books, rich men of taste began to buy them for their own collections. One collector is said to have possessed 30,000 books, while another left to his favourite pupil more than twice as many. Had Julius Cæsar lived longer, he would doubtless have realised one of his ambitions, to found public libraries in Rome. The honour of erecting and arranging

the first library in Rome fell to the Latin writer, Varro, not long after the assassination of Cæsar. It was to Varro that Cicero addressed the well-known saying: *Si hortum in bibliotheca habet, nihil deerit* (If a man's library is his garden, he lacks nothing). In his building he placed busts and statues of famous Romans. Libraries then became established in the city for the use of the public. The Emperor Augustus founded two libraries, one in memory of his sister, Octavia; and other emperors followed his example. Hundreds of the books in these libraries perished in the fire of Rome at the time of Nero. Accounts which have come down to us make it clear that the Roman libraries were well furnished with shelves round the walls and along the middle of the rooms, made of carved and ornamented wood. Busts and statues completed the design. The establishment of libraries was accompanied in Rome with the appointment of librarians, the names of many of whom are known. One of these officials was also physician to the Emperor Augustus. When, as long ago as the year 1754, during excavations at Herculaneum, a very small room was found, it turned out to have been a library, for 1,700 rolls were found in it, stored in wooden presses (*armaria*) six feet high against the walls, with another press in the middle of the room. All the book-recesses were numbered, a sign that at one time the books had been catalogued. There are said to have been twenty-eight libraries at Rome in the fourth century.

The division of the Roman Empire and the consequent elevation of Constantinople (now Istanbul) to the rank of a capital city, attracted learned scholars to the capital of the new eastern division of the Empire. It is said that the Emperor Constantine had a library of 7,000 books, some of which must have been Christian, including copies of the Holy Scriptures. This number was increased by

the Emperors Julian and Theodosius, until the library could boast of having 100,000 books. Almost throughout the middle ages the city continued to be a centre of learning ; and when, in the year 1453, it was captured by the Turks, the flight of the scholars from there to the western European cities was one of the causes of the revival of a kind of learning that centuries of ecclesiastical tradition had stifled.

The adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire, the removal of the capital of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople, and the fall of the western portion of the Empire—these three events settled the course of the history of Europe and, incidentally, determined the character of European libraries for a thousand years or more.

When the Roman Empire became, at least nominally, Christian, the period of the great Latin writers was at an end. Cicero, Vergil, Livy, Ovid and Cæsar, to mention only a few of them, had done their work and passed away. The Greek writers, thinkers, philosophers, historians and dramatists—they too had had their day and had ceased to be. But they had not been forgotten, and Latin and Greek literature, known as the " classics ", is one of the greatest things that the world has ever known. More modern subjects, such as natural science, mathematics, economics and modern languages, have lately caused a decline in the study of the classics. But for hundreds of years in this country a classical education was regarded as the only liberal and cultured education. This education was not one merely in the knowledge of the use of Greek and Latin, for these were merely means to an end. They were the keys that unlocked the doors which guarded the thoughts of the ancient world of Athens and Rome. " Grammar " schools, many of them founded in this country in the sixteenth century, were so called because in them chiefly Greek and Latin were taught.

It was the same with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A man might learn mathematics there, but unless he also learned classics he could not take a degree.

Yet, for nearly a thousand years, the classics were hardly taught in this country. The Latin which was written in the middle ages in the monasteries, the language of the manuscripts about which we read in Chapters II and III, was indeed the Latin tongue, but not the style of Latin written by Cicero and the other Latin writers. It was a variety of Latin called ecclesiastical, or sometimes " dog ", Latin, the Latin used by Jerome in his translation of the Bible into Latin. In its structure it was similar to classical Latin, but many of its words were " coined " specially for theological or legal use, and, of course, its " poetry " was different. And Greek was hardly taught at all, even in the monasteries. It was this kind of Latin that the Venerable Bede and Matthew Paris and the other historians and theologians wrote. Because it was used all over Europe during the middle ages for worship and other Church purposes, it has a vast literature of its own, far exceeding in bulk the whole of the classical literature in Greek and Latin. But it was different from this. Indeed, classical Greek and Latin were " dead " languages, that is, no longer spoken, while ecclesiastical Latin was for nearly a thousand years a living language, which had to be adapted to the needs of a living Church.

When, at the end of the third century, the Roman Empire adopted Christianity, it was within a century-and-a-half of its fall. One-hundred-and-fifty years is not a very long time. It represents the total lives of only two people of seventy-five years old. Already the seeds of decay were present. When Constantine moved his capital to Constantinople, east and west began to pursue their own separate courses. The inroads of the barbarians,

the Vandals, the Huns and the Goths, who swept over Europe in that movement known by the German name of *Völkerwänderung* (the migration of the peoples), brought about the fall of the empire of the west. Rome had a " barbarian " ruler, that is, one who was not a Roman, and gradually the various parts of the empire, from Spain to Germany, fell into the hands of these new and vigorous peoples and their descendants. The Christian Church was put on its trial. From this trial it emerged triumphant. The new and warlike people were at last tamed by the religion of Christ, and the Church became supreme everywhere—so confident that the new emperor of a new, even if revived, empire was crowned in Rome by a pope in the year 800, and became a Christian prince. The paganism, as it was regarded, of Greece and Rome was a thing of the past, and the classics were almost as though they had never been. This is why, in the great libraries of western Europe during the middle ages, very little classical literature was ever admitted. For a thousand years the study of the classics in western Europe languished. A youth who was being educated to be a monk learned how to read the writings of Bede, the Bible, the offices of the Church and St. Thomas Aquinas in the original Latin, but he had probably never heard of Homer or Vergil.

For hundreds of years after the fall of Rome in the year 476, therefore, libraries, the homes of the knowledge of the day, contained hardly anything but Christian literature, such as copies of the Bible and parts of the Bible, commentaries on Holy Scripture, works of the early Christian scholars and teachers who are known as " the Fathers ", and lives of the saints. It was this refusal to admit the knowledge of the people that prevented the Church from being the home of the native poetry and literature of the middle ages. Monks are not found in the ranks of those who were using the native tongue for

literary purposes. While the exciting stories of the Iliad and the Odyssey were awaiting re-discovery, the monks went on plodding away at their manuscripts. These manuscripts, as we saw in Chapters II and III, are often things of great beauty, and contain much interesting information which helps us to understand the life that was lived in the religious houses and round the parish churches of medieval England. But what gorgeous illuminated manuscripts the Iliad and the Odyssey and the Aeneid would have made ! In the fifteenth century, an English poet told the story of another journey, a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral, but no patron was found enterprising enough to order from a scribe and a painter an illustrated copy of this greatest poem of the time. How different medieval education, and how much richer medieval libraries, would have been—and perhaps how different the course of history—if the Church, the home of education, had opened its mind and its doors to the new knowledge that was gradually gathering force ! But these are only speculations. We have to take the course of history as we find it.

The changes which resulted on the continent of Europe from the fall of the Roman Empire made the pursuit of learning of any kind all but impossible. It was not until Charles the Great had brought the greater part of the centre of Europe under his rule that, once again, education reared its head. During the seventh and eighth centuries this country became a home of Christian learning and culture. As a result, scholars flourished and libraries were founded. The Venerable Bede at Jarrow, Benedict Biscop at Monkwearmouth, and Alcuin at York, made the north-east famous for learning. Their dates cover, together, a period which became a unity through their learning. Benedict Biscop died in 690, but left behind his pupil, Bede, who was seventeen or eighteen years old

when his master died. Alcuin was born, most probably, in the year of the death of Bede. The library that Alcuin founded at York was the finest in Europe. He himself has left behind a list of the authors whose works the library contained. These books included the writings of the Fathers, and of Aldhelm and Bede, with Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, and Pliny and Vergil, and Latin poets. Alcuin said that the library contained " all Latin literature, all that Greece had handed on to the Romans, all that the Hebrew people had received from on High, all that Africa with clear-flowing light had given ". But he lived in advance of his time, and his ideals were not continued by those who came after him.

From York, Alcuin went, by invitation, to the court of Charlemagne, who issued instructions, doubtless on the advice of Alcuin, that the lives of the clergy throughout his empire should be lived according to a rule, and that study should not be neglected. The library at Fulda, in Hesse-Nassau, Germany, a religious house founded before Alcuin left York, became one of the most famous in Europe. Alcuin's last official position was that of Abbot of Tours, the library of which he not only founded but also improved by adding to it manuscripts from York.

The next influence on the religious life of Europe was that of St. Benedict. Benedict, who lived early in the sixth century, probably did not realise, when he founded a religious house in Italy at Monte Cassino, about twenty miles from the sea at a point about half-way between Rome and Naples, that he was beginning a movement which, within a few centuries, would fill the whole of Christian Europe with monastic houses. His ideal was for men to live, apart from the world, a common life of poverty, chastity and obedience, under his famous " rule " of life. The life started at Monte Cassino was destined to bring into Church life an influence which, in one form

or another, has never ceased. Though his rule was adopted and changed by later founders of monastic orders, there exist to the present day, in both the Roman and the Anglican Church, communities of Benedictine monks, who are proud to add to their names the letters : "O.S.B." (Order of St. Benedict). The forty-eighth chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict contains the following directions :

> Idleness is the enemy of the soul. Hence, brethren ought, at certain seasons, to occupy themselves with manual labour, and at certain hours with holy reading.
>
> Between Easter and the calends of October, let them apply themselves to reading from the fourth hour till near the sixth hour. From the calends of October to the beginning of Lent, let them apply themselves to reading until the second hour. During Lent, let them apply themselves to reading from morning until the end of the third hour, and, in these days of Lent, let them receive a book apiece from the library and read it straight through. These books are to be given out at the beginning of Lent.

Prominent in every monastic library was a copy of *Legenda Aurea* (*The Golden Legend*, or the precious story of the lives of the saints). This much-prized book was written in Latin by a Dominican friar, Jacobus (James) de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, who lived from about the year 1230 to the year 1298. Not long after his death his work was translated into French by Jean Belet de Vigny. The influence of the book lasted until the Reformation, when doubts began to be expressed about the truth of many of its statements, especially those in which incredible miracles were said to have been performed by the saints. William Caxton issued three separate editions of it. The monastic orders in this country, such as the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Augustinian canons, and the Dominicans, prided themselves on their love of learning, and their libraries were

the finest of their kind in the middle ages. Some monasteries had two sets of books, one set for lending to the monks, and the other for reference only. There was no separate room in a Benedictine monastery for a library as these houses were planned by the founder of the order. Where, then, were the books stored? The answer is that they must have been stored in the only place which the monks could visit at any time when they were not praying, or conferring together, or eating, or sleeping. This place was the cloister. This may have been the reason why, in later times, the window spaces in the inner walls of the cloisters were glazed. The following is a description, written not long before the dissolution of the monasteries (1536 and 1539), of the way in which books belonging to the priory of Durham were kept, and how the cloister was furnished for the purpose :

> In the north syde of the cloyster, from the corner over agaynst the church dour, was all fynely glased from the hight to the sole within a little of the grownd into the cloister garth. And in every wyndow iij Pewes or Carrells, where every one of the old Monks had his Carrell, severall by himselfe, that, when they had dyned, they dyd resort to that place of cloyster, all the after noone, unto evensong tyme. This was there exercyse every daie.
>
> All there pewes or carrells was all fynely wainscotted and verie close, all but the forepart, which had carved wourke that gave light in at ther carrell doures of wainscott. And in every carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on. And the carrells was no greater than from one stanchell of the wyndowe to another.
>
> And over agaynst the carrells agaynst the churche wall did stands certaine greate almeries (cupboards) of waynscott all full of bookes, with great store of auncient manuscripts to help them in their study, wherein did lye as well the old auncyent written Doctors of the Church as other prophayne authors with dyverse other holie mens wourks, so that every one did studye what Doctor pleased them best, having the Librarie at all tymes to goe studie in besydes there carrells.

In the year 1091, when the monastery of Croyland was

burnt by fire, 700 books perished. Peterborough, too, had hundreds of books. One of the best known collections of the middle ages was at the priory church of Durham, now Durham Cathedral, which still retains some of the books which were in the monastery library from the eighth century onwards. A monk of the twelfth century expressed in a Latin tag the importance of a library in a medieval monastery : *Claustrum sine armario quasi castrum sine armamentario* (A cloister without a book-cupboard is like a camp without an arsenal). Yet, famous and great as these English monastic libraries were, none of them could compete in size with the libraries of ancient Egypt, one of which is said to have contained 30,000 books.

A story of the reason for building of the first church at Bury St. Edmunds has been told in Chapter III (see page 60). Even before the Norman Conquest the monastery possessed some books, amongst which were "four cristes boc", that is, four copies of the Gospels, one Mass book, one book of the Epistles and one book of the Gospels (for use during High Mass), one book of chapters from the Bible, a winter service-book, a winter reading-book and a summer reading-book, and a life of St. Edmund, king and martyr. Most of these books were used in the course of the daily monastic round of services. After the Norman Conquest the church was rebuilt, but in such early times it was rare for provision to be made for the library in a separate building. At York, in spite of the existence of a library there since the time of Alcuin, that is, since before the year 800, there is no record, or any other kind of trace, of the building of rooms set apart for a library until the early part of the fifteenth century. A library was then built which still stands, and which was used as a library until the year 1810. Libraries were being built about the same time

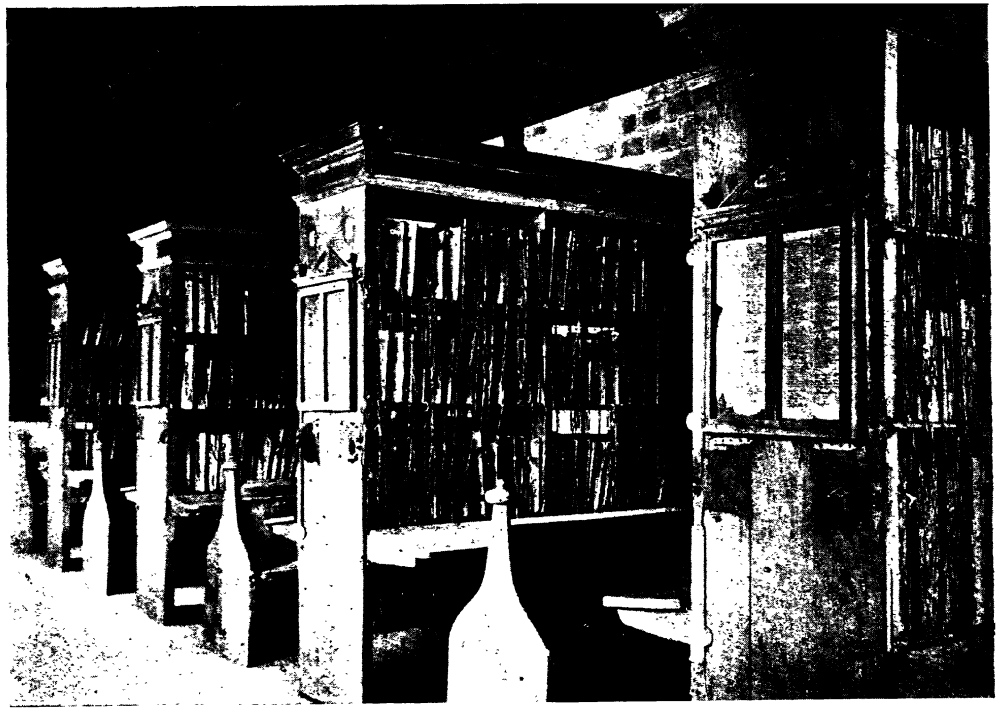
at other places, such as St. Albans, Christ Church, Canterbury, Durham, and Bury St. Edmunds.

About the library at Bury St. Edmunds a good deal is known. In a book in the library of John Cosin, bishop of Durham from 1660 to 1674, the following entry occurs:

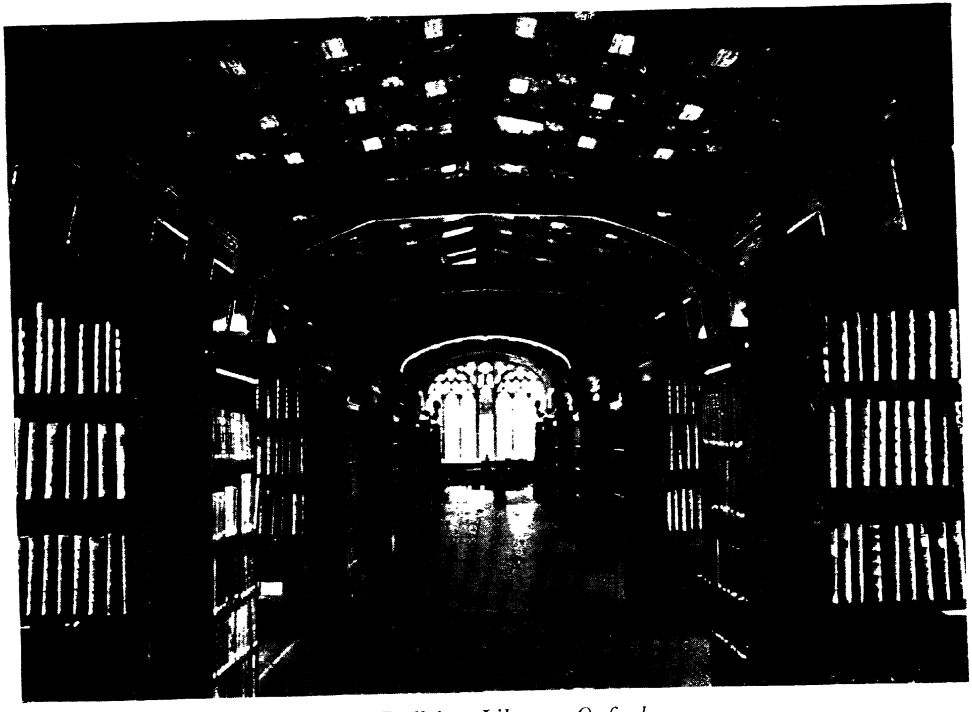
> Provided by Will Curteys, and given to the library in the monastery at Bury constructed by himself.

There can be little, if any, doubt that this library was built by Curteys, abbot from 1429 to 1445, with the advice of one of the monks, John Boston, who was an expert in books. By this time, the number of books had grown so much that fresh accommodation was needed for them. It has been computed that the number of books at this time reached upwards of 2,500, a large number for a medieval library. There exists a good deal of information about gifts to the library. Hugo of Northwold, abbot from 1213 to 1254, gave the first part of a large copy of the Bible. During the fourteenth century gifts of books and of large sums of money were made. Peter of Clopton, prior in 1327, provided books on civil and canon law; a monk named Stephen, who was a leech, or medical man, three large and beautiful books on medicine. The books provided by Stephen would contain a large number of remedies against disease, like those found in a similar book in the Dean and Chapter library at York of a later date in the fourteenth century.

A prior of Bury St. Edmunds in the fourteenth century, Edmund of Brundish, paid £8 for an antiphonary or antiphoner. (See page 47.) Another prior, William of Rowland, enriched the library with law-books and books of sermons. Money also was provided. Reginald of Denham gave six marks, or £4, besides some books; Thomas of Batesford, 100 marks, or £66 13*s.* 4*d.*; William Coatfield, abbot from 1390 to 1414, a like sum.



The famous Chained Library at Hereford Cathedral



Duke Humphrey's Library at the Bodleian Library, Oxford

But John Brinkele (or Brynkley), abbot from 1361 to 1379, was the most generous benefactor of the library. He spent on books for the library the large sum of 225 marks, or £150.

From time to time, book-lovers have travelled about the country searching for rare books, written and printed, and have left behind interesting accounts of their pilgrimages. Thomas Dibdin is one of the best-known of these enthusiasts. In the year 1817 he published the story of his journeys in *A Bibliographical Decameron*, that is, a ten-days' book-hunt. He missed very little that was worth seeing, even though he could not travel by rail. In his survey—which, of course, was the result of many years of study, and not of only ten days' journeyings—he includes accounts, enthusiastic and almost excited, of many of the manuscripts and early printed books which have been mentioned in this book, together with descriptions of engravings, book-bindings and details of prices which were paid in his day for these rare treasures. Dibdin was, however, no pioneer. Nor was John Leland, antiquary to Henry VIII. (See page 135.) For, in the fourteenth century, somebody whose name is not known had been the means of gathering together a list of the contents of about 160 monastic libraries in England and Scotland. The number of authors whose works were found in these libraries reached 85. It may have been this that spurred on the pioneer of pilgrimages to places where rare books could be seen. John Boston, who, later, helped in the planning and the organisation of the new monastic library at Bury St. Edmunds, visited 195 monastic libraries in England and Scotland and, on on his return to Bury St. Edmunds, compiled a *catalogus scriptorum ecclesie* (a catalogue of the writings of the Church). It was as a result of his travels that the library of his own monastery was built and rebuilt. He did not

neglect to catalogue the books of which he had charge. From him we know a good deal about the books which in his time were in the monastic library at Bury St. Edmunds. They may be classified as history (Josephus, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Roger of Hoveden, and others), theology (Anselm, St. Thomas Aquinas, Richard of Hampole, and the early Fathers), the Bible, law, medicine, a few classical writers (such as Cicero, Cæsar and Pliny), and, as might be expected, the *customs* of the abbey church, the rules, that is, for its daily life. Many of these books were beautifully illuminated, mainly in the *scriptorium* of the monastery, which for nearly three centuries was one of the chief centres of writing and painting in East Anglia. The list does not include the books used in the daily course of the services in the monastic church. These comprised beautiful books of various dates from the eleventh century onwards, a psalter being mentioned of such beauty that the late Dr. M. R. James was of the opinion that it must have been the Douai Psalter, the tragic story of which is told on page 41. This psalter was not, however, written at Bury St. Edmunds. Another psalter is described as having a lovely *Beatus* page (the page at the opening of the psalter ; see page 39), the chief illumination in it representing the Virgin and Child, who are supported by figures of twenty-five kings in medallions. Alas ! this beautiful book has disappeared.

This magnificent library was only one amongst scores of equally magnificent monastic libraries which, up to the Reformation, existed in this country. The loss of the vast majority of the books which they contained was a tragedy as great as the loss of the monastic buildings.

The Bury St. Edmunds books shared the fate which befel monastic books in general. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, acquired some of them. On his

death, all his valuable collection went to his college, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, including the first volume of the copy of the Bury St. Edmunds Bible which had been illuminated by Master Hugo (see page 59). Sir Robert Cotton, whose large collection of books and manuscripts became the property of the nation in the year 1700, came into possession of others. Some passed to Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian library, where they remain. For a time, Archbishop Laud possessed others. Before the end of the sixteenth century about one-hundred of the Bury St. Edmunds books were owned by William Smart, a portman (i.e., citizen) of Ipswich, who presented them to Pembroke College, Cambridge, the library of which they enrich. St. John's College, Cambridge, has one, the gift to the college, in the year 1634, of Jeremiah Holt, rector of Aspall, near Stowmarket, Suffolk. On September 18th, 1663, Samuel Pepys wrote :

> To Wisbeach, a pretty towne, and a fine church and library, where sundry very old abbey manuscripts.

It is thought that these also came from the monastic library of Bury St. Edmunds.

From almost the beginning of the establishment of the Christian Church in the kingdom of Kent, Canterbury, the ecclesiastical capital of the kingdom and the most venerable Christian site in this country, had possessed two religious houses which, like the two which for a time existed at Winchester, stood near each other. One was the monastery founded by Augustine at the end of the sixth century, and called the priory of Christ Church, in which Augustine had his *cathedra* or chair. The other, founded in his memory, was the abbey of St. Augustine. From the first, these two religious houses were homes of Christian learning as well as centres of Christian worship

and missionary work. Books for use in the services of the Church were brought from Rome by Augustine, including copies of the four Gospels. None of these remain, but the tradition which was begun in the priory of Christ Church was followed by the abbey of St. Augustine. By the end of the fifteenth century these two houses, between them, possessed not fewer than 3,500 books of which, up to now, fewer than 600 have been identified. This number of books, 3,500, was not exceeded by the number in the libraries of any other two monasteries in this country.

The two Canterbury foundations had an advantage which no other similar foundations possessed, for they were nearer the continent of Europe than any others. Kings before the Norman Conquest, and Archbishops of Canterbury all through the middle ages, were amongst those who made generous gifts of books to them. If the priory was favoured in this way above the abbey, this was only to be expected, for from the days of Augustine the priory church was the metropolitan or "capital" church of this country. So it has remained for more than thirteen-and-a-half centuries. Bede tells us that in the time of Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop from 668 to 690, a school was in existence there in which monks were taught the Latin and Greek languages, astronomy and poetry. As Bede was already seventeen years old when Theodore died, some of the monks who had been educated under Theodore must have been still living when Bede was writing his history. It is certain that Theodore gave books to the library of books which these monks used, though probably none of them has survived. When Bede, however, was writing his commentary on *The Acts of the Apostles*, he used a copy of a book, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which may have belonged to Theodore. This is, of course, only a guess, though a tempting guess. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury

from 960 to 988, as a patron of learning, must have given books to his cathedral church. In the Royal Library at Oslo there is a copy of the Gospels which was presented to the priory by Alfred, an ealdorman (that is, a local ruler and military chief), and his wife, Werburgh, who saved the book from being destroyed by heathen pirates. Two kings shewed their interest in the priory—Athelstan, king from 925 to 940, and Canute, king from 1014 to 1035—by giving to the priory copies of the Gospels. Athelstan's gift is preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace. Other books came to the priory before the Norman Conquest, including a copy, in Anglo-Saxon, of the book of Genesis, containing pictures, and a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. As will be seen in Chapter IX, this valuable chronicle was compiled at several monastic houses and finished at the abbey of Peterborough. Many of these pre-Conquest books were used in the daily services of the abbey church, and were kept in the sacristy, the place where the holy vessels and the vestments were kept, but some of them, such as King Alfred's version of Bede's History, formed a library of books for study. There was, however, no separate library building until early in the fifteenth century. The books given to the priory by archbishops from the time of Augustine to the Norman Conquest formed one of the early libraries in this country. Others were coming into existence at the same time at York and Winchester.

Early in the fourteenth century, Henry of Eastry occupied the position of prior of Christ Church. He ordered an inventory, or list, of all the property of the priory to be made—land, buildings, gold and silver plate, furniture, vestments and books. The catalogue of the books —which mentions two or three books in the handwriting of Eadwine, two of them being psalters—though not quite

complete, occupies 20 pages of this interesting volume, which is in the British Museum. But, more than a century earlier, before the murder of Becket, another catalogue of the library, as it then was, had been made. Another list has survived, of the year 1508, this one being a list of books which were repaired in that year. From these three lists, two Cambridge scholars, the late Mr. J. Willis Clark and the late Dr. M. R. James, have given us much interesting information about this library. In the year 1067, a fire destroyed both the priory church and many of its surrounding buildings. Eadmer, a monk of Christ Church, who died about the year 1130, wrote that many books "sacred and profane", as well as charters and papal bulls, were destroyed. In that year, Lanfranc, the Norman, became archbishop. In three years he had begun the rebuilding of the church and the monastic buildings, and he had put the library on a sound footing. For his time, he was enlightened, for, having in his youth studied the classics, he did not discourage the monks from doing the same, provided that they did not neglect sacred learning. Already, the classics, though regarded as "profane" books, had gained a place in the reading scheme of the pre-Conquest monks at Christ Church. Lanfranc ordered the Benedictine rule of study to be observed, and he arranged that every monk should have the use of a fresh set of books from the library every year, care being taken that at the end of each year the books should be returned in good condition. He presented many books to the priory, and he revived the school of writing and illumination. Students of early handwriting are able to judge, from the kind of handwriting which Lanfranc encouraged and which was practised at the priory for nearly the whole of the twelfth century, whether a book was written at Canterbury during this period. As one result of the rule made by

Lanfranc, it was found in the year 1337 that, owing to the carelessness of some monks and the death of others, nearly sixty books were missing. Three had been borrowed by Edward II—the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the lives of Anselm and St. Thomas.

In the meantime, gifts to the library continued to be made. The donors included Anselm (archbishop from 1093 to 1114), Henry of Eastry (who left 80 books to the library), Henry Chichele (archbishop from 1414 to 1443), and William Chillenden (prior). From Eastry's catalogue, Dr. James computed that the library must have contained 1,850 volumes. Before the provision of a separate building under Archbishop Chichele and Prior Chillenden, many of the books were kept in the cloister, which formed a "reference" library. The remainder of the books would be kept wherever they could, without inconvenience, be stored, and this must have been, for such a large number of books, in a special room.

The earliest library building of which there is any account was erected over the prior's chapel. From the list of books repaired in the year 1508, Mr. J. Willis Clark was able to suggest how the book-cases were filled. His arrangement is as follows:

On the north side

Case I.	Shelves 1 and 2.	Bibles and Concordances (a concordance being an index of texts).
	Shelves 3 and 4.	Theology.
Case II.	Shelves 1 and 2.	Theology.
	Shelves 3 and 4.	Commentaries on the Bible.
Case III.	Shelves 1, 2 and 3.	Commentaries on the Bible.

Cases IV to VII, and III, shelf 4.		Writings of the Fathers.
Case VIII.	Shelves 1 and 2.	History.
	Shelves 3 and 4.	Dictionaries, Grammars and the Classics.

On the south side

Cases I and II.		Theology.
Cases III, IV and V (shelves 1–3).		Canon Law (the law of the Church).
Cases V (shelf 4) and VI.		Canon and Civil Law.
Case VII.	Shelves 1 and 2.	Lives of Saints.
	Shelves 3 and 4.	Philosophy and Medicine.

Case VIII. Miscellaneous books, that could not easily be classified.

At about this time—in the year 1524—not all the books were in the library, or even at the monastery. When the colleges of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were being founded, some of the religious houses found it to their advantage to have colleges or halls of residence at which their most promising young members could be educated. At this time there was a college at Oxford, known as Durham College, for the monks of the priory of Durham. The priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, had Canterbury College. To these and other similar colleges books were lent from the monastic libraries. As he entered on his office, the warden of each of the colleges had to make an inventory or list of all the goods in the college, including the books, which belonged to the monastery. Canterbury College had at this time, in its library, 131 books on Theology, 20 on Canon Law, and 41 on Philosophy. In " the great chest in the warden's chamber " there were 29 on Theology, and 71 on

Philosophy—a total, in all, of 292. The subject of these books reveals the kind of education—the most liberal of the day—which a would-be monk received. Philosophy might include Mathematics and Astronomy, but there was little or no room for Classics, History, Natural Science, or English Literature. The contents of the monastic library in the year 1508 shew that since earlier days, when books on Music, Arithmetic and Astronomy were in the library, ideas of education had become less liberal. Libraries might grow in size, such as that of Christ Church, which had only about 600 books at the end of the twelfth century, but little liberal thought came to the monasteries. Had they been more in touch with the outside world, they might have been spared.

Not very much is known about the library of the abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury. The only list of the books which has survived was made about the year 1497. This list is now at Trinity College, Dublin. It is a remarkable production, for its references to the books are very full, some books having as many as five and six entries in the catalogue. The contents of the 1,900 books shew a wider range of subjects than in the case of the library of Christ Church. They include Natural History, Music, Geometry, Astronomy, Logic, Alchemy, and books written in French and English. The catalogue occupies more than 180 pages.

The three monastic establishments whose libraries have been described were large ones. Scattered about the country, there were hundreds of smaller houses, each of which had its library. The priory of St. Martin, Dover, a "daughter" of the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, had a good if small library, and an admirable cataloguer in John Whytefeld, a monk who lived during the second half of the fourteenth century. He spent on his list immense pains. He gives not only the title of

each book and its shelf reference, but also such details as the number of folios in each volume, and the opening words of each book and of each tract in each volume that contains, as was common in those days, more than one composition. This information occupies two sections of his catalogue. The third and final section of this remarkable work, which is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contains an alphabetical list of the books, the other two sections having been arranged according to the positions of the books on the shelves. The work of listing the 450 books which the library then contained must have taken many months. In this library there were some copies of Romances. Fewer than twenty of the books have so far been found.

When we consider the large numbers of religious houses in this country, great and small, which existed before the Reformation—more than 200 in Yorkshire alone—we wonder what happened to their books when they were dissolved in the years 1536, 1538 and 1539. Of every one a story could be told, like the four that have been told, of careful writing and painting, of housing a growing collection of books, and of generous gifts. At St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, there were nearly 250 donors of books ; at Christ Church, nearly 200 ; and, at St. Martin's, Dover, nearly 60. These three libraries contained, in all, more than 4000 books. In addition, they would have had, amongst them, probably 500 service books. Yet only about 600, or one in eight, have been found, though, here and there, others may come to light. What happened to the hundreds of thousands of books of all kinds which were once the proud possession of the monasteries ?

The first calamity that happened to them was due to the dissolution of the monasteries. This event, or, rather, series of events, was one result of an enquiry that was

conducted, over more than ten years, into the life which centred in and around all the churches which were the homes of communities of clergy, and in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Some of the monastic churches, amongst them Christ Church, Canterbury, and Durham, were the churches of bishops as well as of monks. In these cases, the monks were turned adrift, the monastic buildings were either pulled down or left to the cathedrals, and all their property in land was seized. Some of the churches then became purely cathedral churches, and new bishops were appointed who were not monks. In cases where the monastic churches could serve as parish churches, such as Romsey, Tewkesbury and Selby, the churches themselves were preserved as churches, but the monks were dispersed, and much of the property was confiscated. Where a church was the home of a community of clergy who were not monks, as at York and Hereford, the building was not destroyed, but all the chantry chapels were dismantled and the property attached to the chantries confiscated. At Oxford and Cambridge, the colleges had to submit to enquiries which must have been most distasteful. Part of the property that was taken by the Crown was used to endow new bishoprics.

Everywhere, these enquiries were made with great severity. But the fiercest wrath fell on the monastic houses, small as well as great. If the libraries of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were despoiled—as they were—those of the monasteries were treated even worse. A prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, William Tilley, who had glazed the cloister and provided carrells for the use of the monks, intended his own books to be placed in the library after his death. For some reason, possibly because the library was full, the books remained in the prior's house after Tilley's death in the year 1494,

and were still there in the year 1537 when the king's Commission of Enquiry arrived. Amongst the commissioners was a man named Richard Layton, who, from all accounts, was an odious person. While he was occupying the house of the prior, a fire took place, owing to his being drunk according to one account, by accident according to another, and the precious books of William Tilley, some of which he had brought from Italy, were destroyed. The library itself was spared, and it survived for a century ; but no attempt was made at Canterbury, or anywhere else, to take even reasonable care of the books. Hardly anyone who cared for lovely things was able to preserve, intact, these specimens of the art of nearly a thousand years. Their fate seems to have been left to chance. A schoolmaster of Canterbury, however, named John Twine, managed to gain possession, by purchase or otherwise, of the catalogue of the books in the library of the abbey of St. Augustine, and of some of the books themselves. From him they went to Dr. John Dee (1527–1608), the famous mathematician and astronomer, and back to the Twine family in the person of Brian Twine, grandson of the schoolmaster. Brian Twine left them to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where they remain. Other books that belonged to this abbey came to the British Museum through Sir Robert Cotton (see page 155), to Corpus Christi College through Matthew Parker (Archbishop of Canterbury from 1559 to 1575), and to the library of Lambeth Palace through Richard Bancroft (Archbishop of Canterbury from 1604 to 1610). Matthew Parker also bought many of the books from the library of Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, and bequeathed them to his college, Corpus Christi, Cambridge. Eadwine's psalter came to Trinity College, Cambridge, by the gift of Thomas Nevile, Master of Trinity (1593 to 1615) and Dean of Canterbury. This book has had

fewer homes than most books of the kind which have survived, for it did not leave Canterbury until it made the journey to Cambridge. Cambridge college libraries, with the University Library, possess more than 140 of the Christ Church books, a larger number than are to be found anywhere else. Even Canterbury Cathedral, the home of these manuscripts, has only about twenty of them. If Henry VIII, with his reputation in early life for a love of learning, had cared in middle life for lovely books, he could have possessed himself of most of the treasure of the arts of the writing and the painting of the middle ages.

Very few printed books found their way into the monasteries. Many of the products of the printing-press were distrusted by the monks as belonging to a new order of things. Printed service books would have replaced those in manuscript had the monasteries survived. But this did not take place. Monastic libraries and the making of manuscript books came to an end at the same time. The art of printing belonged to a different age.

In recent times, the furniture still to be seen in some ancient libraries in a few of the cathedrals, parish churches and colleges of this country has been closely studied by those who have wished to discover how these old libraries were furnished. Many examples of chained libraries have come down to us, one of the most famous being at Hereford Cathedral.

It has been found, through the study of the remains of ancient libraries, that the furniture of these libraries was arranged in three ways :

(1) With great book-cases at right angles to the two long walls of the room, a passage-way being left down the middle of the room, and a lectern, with or without a seat, being placed parallel to the book-

cases in such a position that the books could be supported on it while they were being read. The light was supplied through large windows between the book-cases. The books were arranged on shelves above the lecterns.

(2) The same arrangement as above, but with two or three shelves of books. Each space between two presses thus became a kind of stall, in which privacy could be secured.

(3) The books arranged in shelves all round a high room, with a gallery round the room to enable the books on the higher shelves to be reached. Often the books were not chained.

Frequently, too, books were kept unchained in chests called " almires ", or " almeries ", a word in common use for what we call cupboards. Human beings are so much enslaved to custom and habit that they do not easily change them. It was a natural thing to chain a book when it was as precious as a heap of gold. Yet, even though printing made any copy of a book far less valuable than when each book was almost unique, in some places chains were used long after they were much more than an interesting relic of the past. No college at Cambridge used chains after the year 1626, but at Oxford the last three colleges to remove chains from their books did not do so until the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. Nowadays, a chained library is an interesting relic of a bygone day, and that is all.

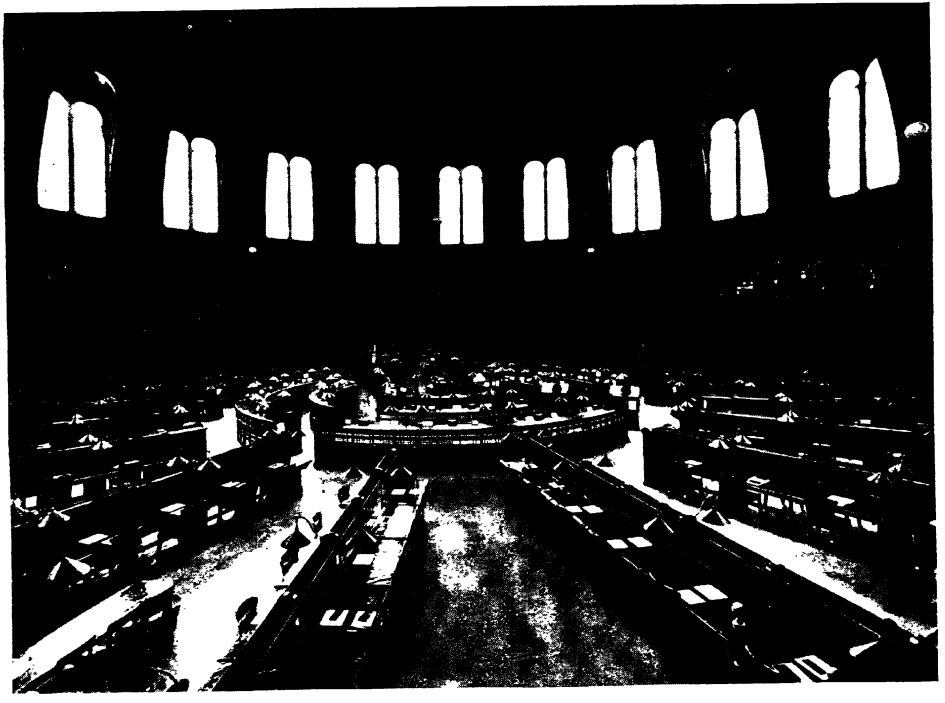
Since then, many changes have taken place in libraries, and so many collections of books, public and private, have been made that a series of volumes would be needed to give an account of them all. Universities, colleges and schools, societies, institutions and individuals, county councils, cities and towns—all these have come to have

their own libraries. The largest single room in this country which was built for the purpose of storing books is the circular reading-room of the British Museum, which was finished in the year 1857. It holds one-and-a-half-million books. It is a far cry from this book-store back to the time when the Anglo-Saxon monks were stocking their libraries with books which they were themselves writing and painting.

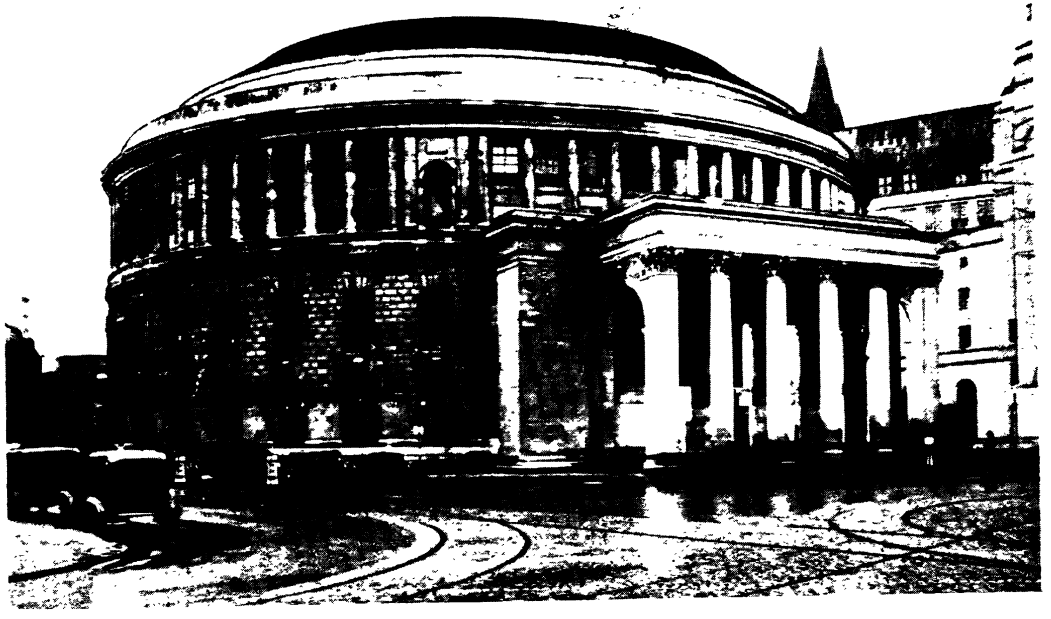
Every modern library has to provide for an increase in the number of its books. This need is greatest in the case of the six libraries in the British Isles which are entitled, by law, to receive a copy of every book which is published in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. These six libraries are the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Cambridge University Library, the National Library of Scotland, the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and the National Library of Wales at Aberystwith. Of these six, the University Library at Cambridge is the oldest, having been begun early in the fifteenth century on a very small scale. The Bodleian Library and the library at Trinity College, Dublin, date from the beginning of the seventeenth century; the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh from the end of the same century; and the British Museum, the youngest but the most complete of them all, to the year 1753. All these five libraries, which belong even to the whole world, contain more than printed books, many of them rare; they possess, in varying quantities, rich treasures of manuscripts. The British Museum holds second place amongst the libraries of the world only to the National Library at Paris. The most important library in this country outside London from some points of view is the John Rylands Library, Manchester, which was founded in the year 1899.

In addition, since the passing of the first Public

Libraries Act in the year 1850, the country has come to possess public libraries, most of them with reference departments and reading-rooms, not only in all cities and boroughs but also even in villages, thanks to the activities of the county councils. Many of these libraries, too, have special arrangements for the issue of books to children, and even reading-rooms for children. The benefits which have been conferred by these libraries, with the scores of university, college, school and private libraries, cannot be measured. While it is true that books of fiction easily take first place in the list of books issued, the other departments of literature have their numerous users. Our libraries bring almost to our very doors the wisdom of the ages. To this extent has the use of the library grown from its very beginnings. That growth may be compared to the growth of the mustard-tree.



The Reading-Room, British Museum



The Manchester Public Library

CHAPTER VII

NEWSPAPERS TO 1702

HUMAN beings are, always have been, and always will be, interested in the doings of other human beings whether they know them or not. It is not mere curiosity which prompts this interest. While, in other periods of the history of the world, the further away from one another people have lived the less have their doings affected other people, in recent times that has been changed. For many years past, the most important news which has been "broadcast" has been news of events in foreign countries, even as far away from us as China and Japan. The day has gone, never to return, when what is happening on the other side of the world can be regarded as being of no concern to us and therefore of little or no interest to us. News is now demanded from all parts of the world, and the demand can be supplied almost as soon as the events which make it have happened. Owing to the discovery of the use of the ether as a sound-carrier, we can get news from nearly anywhere by merely turning a knob or two on our wireless sets. But this invention is one that, twenty years ago, had not progressed beyond the stage of experiment and hope. A new age has begun, the possibilities of which nobody can foresee.

What does the modern newspaper give us for our penny? News, of course, from distant parts of the world as well as from our own country and neighbourhood. But, also, in paragraphs and articles, information about things of general interest which can hardly be called "news"; in addition, such interesting items as notices of the publication of books, accompanied in some cases by "reviews", that is, critical judgments about the books;

and advertisements, which many people find useful and which provide an income without which newspapers would cost more than they do ; and, last but by no means least, what are known as leading articles or " leaders ", written by the editors or others, which help to form public opinion on the questions of the day. But these wide functions of newspapers are things of gradual growth. The earliest newspapers are primitive and simple when compared with their modern successors.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for us, accustomed as we are to an almost continuous supply of news, to realise to how great an extent our forefathers of even three centuries ago were isolated from the outside world. How long after the landing, at Pevensey Bay, of William the Norman did it take for the news to travel to Bristol or Leicester or Lincoln or York or Newcastle-on-Tyne or Carlisle ? The tidings of the victory of Agincourt, fought on the other side of the English Channel, must have taken much longer. Beacon fires announced the victory over the Spanish Armada, but even this process was slow when compared with the speed of the telegraph. It comes as a surprise to us to learn that Napoleon could move his armies across Europe no faster than, even if as fast as, Julius Cæsar could. The newspaper press could spread news much more speedily and widely than had been possible before its introduction. By itself, however, the newspaper did not receive news any more quickly than a pigeon could fly or a coach could travel over roads that in dry weather were little better than cart-tracks, and in wet weather were, in truth, quagmires in which a heavy stage-coach would frequently become bogged. The newspaper created the ever-growing thirst for news. It was left to the inventors of the telegraph and the cable to beat the carrier-pigeon at his own game.

In the Roman Empire, of which our country was for

more than four centuries a part, it was the custom for important news to be announced by means of public notices called *acta diurnalia*—daily news-bulletins—the appearance of which was awaited not only by the citizens but also by messengers hired by those who lived at some distance from the city to convey to them the contents of the bulletins. A similar method was in use in Pekin by the sixth or the seventh century A.D. Little or no improvement on this way of spreading news took place, even on the continent of Europe, until the end of the sixteenth century, a-century-and-a-half after the invention of printing. It was in the year 1594 that the first newspaper of which there is any record came into existence, first at Cologne and then at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Its title was *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, that is, *The Gallo-Belgian Mercury*, named after the Greek Mercurius, son of Jupiter and Maia, messenger of the gods. For just over forty years, this newspaper, written in Latin, ran its course. A Dutch priest, Jansen by name, was its first editor. In the year of the appearance in England of the Authorised Version of the Bible, Paris had its first newspaper, *Le Mercure François* (The French Mercury), which lasted till the year 1648. The earliest copies of a foreign newspaper which are in the British Museum are of a Dutch newspaper which bear the dates November 22nd and 25th, 1619, and February 12th, 1621.

It is known that copies of *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* and of this Dutch newspaper found their way to this country. They inspired Ralph Rounthwaite to register at Stationers' Hall a newspaper with the long title of *A Relation of all Matters done in Bohemia, Holland, Austria, Poland, Silesia, France, etc., that is worthy of relating since the 2 of March, 1618, until the 4 of May.* (The year, by our present reckoning, was 1619, as, until the year 1752, a new year began, not on January 1st but on Lady Day.) Hard on the

heels of this new venture came *The Certain and True Newes from all parts of Germany and Poland to the present 20 of October 1621*. This newspaper, which was printed by Bartholomew Downes, would convey to its readers news of the early events of the Thirty Years' War, in which the husband of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I, was concerned. On October 29th, 1621, there appeared *The Courant, or Weekly Newes from Foreign Parts*. No copy of any of these three newspapers is known to have survived. Up to this time, nobody had embarked on the publication, in a newspaper, of English news.

Such a project could not, however, be long delayed. For many years, noblemen and others who could afford to pay for news, after the fashion of the wealthy citizens of Ancient Rome, had secured news of the capital and of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge through the services of " intelligencers ", as they were called, that is, men of good education and sound judgment who wrote to them with some regularity " news-letters " containing descriptions of such events as might be interesting to their patrons. In this way, and through the travels of the stage-coaches, which undertook the delivery of these news-letters, it became possible for those who lived on their country estates to maintain some touch with the outside world. Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, employed John Chamberlain (1550–1627), a well-to-do, scholarly man and an accomplished letter-writer, to send him, from time to time, news that he picked up as he moved about London or visited country houses. Knowing, as he did, many of the leading men in the country, amongst them Lancelot Andrewes, the saintly bishop, first of Ely and then of Winchester, he was well placed for hearing the news of the day. As a news-letter writer, he has been described as " the Horace Walpole of his day ".

The news-letters which he wrote between the years 1598 and 1625 are preserved in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London. Before this time, however, another news-letter writer named Richard Scudamore had sent news from home to the well-known diplomat, Sir Philip Hoby (1505–1558), who lived much of his life abroad, in Spain, Portugal, France, Flanders and Austria. It is interesting to know that Hoby was asked to suggest a marriage between Edward VI and a French princess, and that he was entrusted with a mission to the Emperor Charles V.

These two writers of news-letters, Richard Scudamore and John Chamberlain, are typical of men who, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were pioneers of what is now called journalism, even though their letters were written to private individuals.

Towards the end of this century, offices began to be established to collect news for customers outside London who were willing to pay for it. In his play, *The Staple of Man*, which was first acted at the beginning of the reign of Charles I, Ben Jonson (*c.* 1573–1637) describes one of these offices :

> This is the outer room, where my clerks sit
> And keep their sides, the register in the midst.
> The examiner, he sits private there within,
> And here I have my several rolls and files
> Of news by the alphabet, and all put up
> Under their heads.

There were, however, those who deprecated the growing passion for news. Robert Burton (1577–1640), " student " of Christ Church, Oxford (that is, a fellow of the college), one of the most learned scholars of his time, enriched our literature with a great book, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, published in the year 1621, in which he recommended, as a cure for melancholy, a life of study.

He deplored the absence of a love of learning even amongst those who were able to read and yet seldom exercised their minds in serious study. "If they read a book at any time . . . 'tis an English chronicle . . . , a play-book or some pamphlet of news." This is evidence of the curiosity of the people who lived in the 1620's for news, doubtless home as well as foreign. Here was a demand which was crying out for supply. The three newspapers already mentioned (see pages 171–2) as being published in the first two or three years of the Thirty Years War were examples of a number of similar attempts to supply this demand. Enterprise was as common then as now. Morbid curiosity of the kind now satisfied by sensational reports of trials for murder was satisfied, in the year of Gunpowder Plot, by Nathaniel Butler, a freeman of the Stationers' Company, who printed in that year accounts of two murder trials held in Yorkshire. When the country was being stirred by the issue of the Authorised Version of the Bible, he issued *Newes from Spain* and, later, his more ambitious *Newes from most parts of Christendom.* In the year 1638, he obtained from Charles I the right to publish news of foreign affairs in return for an annual payment to the repair fund of St. Paul's Cathedral. Though Butler lived through the Civil War and the Commonwealth, until the year 1664, little, if anything, more is known about his excursions into print. But he had blazed a trail, and he had helped to put the newspaper "on the map". The first English newspaper of which a copy has survived came from the press of Butler's rival, Thomas Archer, and his friend, Nicholas Bourne. It was called *The Weekly News from Italy, Germany and other Foreign Countries.* The British Museum possesses this copy; it is dated at London, May 23rd, 1622, "printed by J. D. for Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer". Less than three months after this, another newspaper,

The Certain Newes of this Present Week, contained in its third issue this invitation to would-be subscribers :

> If any gentleman or other accustomed to buy the weekly relations of newes be desirous to continue the same, let them know that the writer, or transcriber rather, of this newes hath published two former newes, the one dated the second, the other the thirteenth, of August, all which do carry a like title, and have dependence one upon another ; which manner of writing and printing he doth propose to continue weekly, by God's assistance, from the best and most certain intelligence.

Not to be outdone, Archer replied, in the year 1625, with *Mercurius Britanicus*, copies of a later issue of which still exist. (See the appendix to this chapter.)

When, five years afterwards, the Star Chamber forbade the printing of foreign news, a serious blow was dealt to the enterprise of these pioneers in the history of the newspaper. By a decree of the Stationers' Company dated July 11th, 1637, it was made compulsory for law books and books on heraldry to be licensed by special censors for publication, the established censors of the press, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, being confirmed in their right to licence the publication of all other books. Only twenty printers received a licence to print books, a copy of every one of which had to be deposited at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

When, during the first fourteen months of the existence of the Long Parliament, the royalist system erected by Buckingham and Strafford and Laud was abolished, the newspaper entered on a new period of its history. Up to this time, a generation had been growing up which had regarded the newspaper press as the bearer of news from abroad. Foreign affairs gave place to home affairs. In November 1641, William Cooke printed, and Samuel Pecke edited, *The Heads of Several Proceedings in the Present Parliament*, or *Diurnal Occurrences* (as it was called when

it began to be issued weekly); and, two months later, these two were associated in the production of *A Perfect Diurnal of the Proceedings in Parliament.* Pecke has been called, with justice to one who was the first Parliamentary reporter, " the first of the patriarchs of English domestic journalism ". Already, Charles I had transferred his printing-press and his printer to York, from which loyal city he issued pamphlets, some of which will be mentioned below. During the next twenty years, the London newspaper press was virtually closed to royalist views, and thereby the king lost whatever support a London newspaper might have given to his cause. For a time early in the year 1643, a Royalist newspaper was issued in London called *Mercurius Aulicus*, but it had to be transferred to Oxford, where, until September, 1645, it appeared under the title of *A Diurnal Communication on the Intelligence and Affaires of the Court to the Rest of the Kingdome.* For a time, too, the king found a journalistic champion in Sir John Berkenhead, Fellow of All Souls', Oxford, who fittingly gave his paper the title of *Mercurius Academicus.* But the end of the first Civil War and the surrender of the king to the Scots at Newark left the whole of the newspaper interest at the disposal of the Parliament.

It is not surprising to learn that, here and there, an editor was found who supported first one side and then the other. The most impudent of these was an able writer named Marchmont (or Marchamont) Needham. For four years, as Archer's successor on *Mercurius Britanicus*, he advocated the cause of Parliament. He then changed his politics in *Mercurius Pragmaticus.* His wit and pungency attracted the attention of William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament, and John Bradshaw, afterwards president of the court which condemned the king to death. These two persuaded Need-

ham to change his politics back again. This time, the newspaper was called *Mercurius Politicus*. So successful was his advocacy of the cause of Parliament that few people would believe that Needham was the editor. Needham entered on a new venture, *The Public Intelligencer*, the first issue of which is dated October 8th, 1658. Though he lived till the year 1678, his journalistic career came to an end with the publication of this announcement by the Council of State :

> Whereas Marchmont Needham, the author of the weekly news-books called *Mercurius Politicus* and *The Publique Intelligencer*, is, by order of the Council of State, discharged from writing or publishing any publique intelligence, the reader is desir'd to take notice that, by order of the said Council, Giles Dury and Henry Muddiman are authorized henceforth to write and publish the said intelligence, the one upon the Thursday and the other upon the Monday, which they do intend to set out under the titles of *The Parliamentary Intelligencer* and of *Mercurius Publicus*.

The time has now come for a short account of the controversy between the King and Parliament which was carried on by means of pamphlets issued to their supporters and to others who were interested in the rights and the wrongs of each case. Some thousands of copies of these pamphlets are preserved in the British Museum, and some hundreds in the York Minster library.

Charles I paid his first visit to York, which lasted for a month, in the year 1639. He was accompanied by his printer, Robert Barker, famous as the man who had printed the Authorised Version of the Bible, which had been published in the year 1611. It was here that Barker printed the Royal Proclamation suppressing monopolies, that is, permits for the sole right to trade, at " profiteering " prices, of course, in certain articles of consumption. From York, the King went to Durham, where a sermon was preached before him in the cathedral

by the bishop, Thomas Morton. On March 18th, Charles was back in York, and lived at Sir Arthur Ingram's house on the north side of the Minster. Hard by is St. William's College, a building which still stands, from the middle of the fifteenth century for nearly one hundred years the house of the chantry priests of York. By this time it had become the house of Henry Jenkins, and in it Robert Barker set up the royal printing-press. Here were printed, until the King and his printer removed to Nottingham on September 1st, 1642, after the outbreak of the Civil War, thirty-nine pamphlets for distribution to the king's supporters. Amongst them were :

(1) The Humble Petition of the Gentry Ministers and Freeholders of the City of York, presented to the king on April 5th, 1642, together with the King's answer.
(2) The Humble Petition of the Lords and Commons concerning the removal of arms, etc., from Hull, together with the King's answer. April 14th.
(3) The Humble Petition of the Lords and Commons, about Ireland, with the King's answer.

In consequence of this, the king went to Beverley on April 21st, and to Hull on April 23rd. Sir John Hotham, a member of a prominent East Riding family, refused him admittance. The King returned to York the day after, " full of trouble and indignation for this high affront ". Barker then issued :

(1) His Majestie's Message to both Houses of Parliament, relating to the Militia Bill, which he had refused to sign. April 28th.
(2) To the Lords and Commons : the Humble Petition and Remonstrance of the Nobility and Gentry of York, protesting against Sir John Hotham's action.

(3) Propositions by both Houses of Parliament to the King, with the King's answer. The answer was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels.
(4) By the King : a Proclamation, declaring the King's intention to go to Hull again.

This last pamphlet was dated at Beverley on July 8th. On July 6th, the King had travelled by water from York to a small creek six miles from Hull, where one of his pinnaces sent by the queen from Holland had been run ashore, chased by three ships under the orders of Parliament. For six days, Charles remained at Beverley. He then visited Doncaster, Newark and Lincoln. Returning to Yorkshire by way of Beverley, he made another tour, to gain support if possible, to Nottingham and Leicester. He arrived in York again on July 30th. There followed :

(1) The King's Speech to the Gentlemen of Yorkshire. (In this speech, he bade farewell to his supporters in the county. It was described as " pathetic and moving ".)
(2) The King's Declaration to all his loving Subjects. August 12th.

At a Court held at York, this declaration was read and adopted, and Charles called on those present, and all others who were willing to support him with their arms, to meet him at Nottingham on August 22nd. On August 16th, he left York, and six days afterwards set up his standard at Nottingham. The Civil War had begun.

These tracts, which in some senses did service as newspapers, form an interesting collection. They are well printed, as might have been expected from the reputation of Robert Barker and his father. Those which contain messages from the King are printed in Gothic or black-letter type.

During the Commonwealth, other newspapers appeared. For a short time, John Milton, the greatest of all the literary men who have been contributors to, or editors of, newspapers, tried his hand at journalism in *Mercurius Publicus*, which lasted from 1650 to 1660. Richard Collings, who had been advocating the cause of Parliament by his pen since the year 1643, first in *Mercurius Civicus* and then in *The Kingdome's Intelligencer*, edited *The Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth*, which ran from 1650 to 1655. Henry Muddiman, a new figure in journalism, managed and edited, from 1659 to 1660, when the newspaper was suppressed by General Monk, *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*.

Then came the joyful news of the Restoration. It was as though a cloud had been lifted from the minds of the ordinary citizens of this country, who never accept extreme measures for very long. There was, however, as yet, no freedom of the press. One kind of press-censorship had been merely succeeded by another. A new official, called the Surveyor of the Press, was appointed. The office was held from the year 1663 by Roger L'Estrange, to whom was given

> the sole privilege of writing, printing and publishing all narratives, advertisements, mercuries, intelligencers, diurnals and other books of public intelligence, . . . with power to search for and seize unlicensed and treasonable, schismatical and scandalous, books and papers.

The powers which were now granted to the new censor of the newspaper press, like those which the Archbishop of Canterbury possessed in respect of printed books, seem to us unnecessarily harsh. In the seventeenth century, however, the existence of the monarchy and the Church of England was not merely threatened but, for a period, actually brought to an end. Both had had an unbroken life of ten centuries. Both were part of the very life of the people. The Commonwealth period, though a time

when godly men with texts on their lips were the rulers of this country, has never been regarded as more than an interesting and passing experiment in the long and continuous political adventures of our constitution. In spite of the fierce opposition which the personal rule of George III, accompanied as it was by the loss of the American colonies, aroused, no responsible statesmen suggested the abolition of the monarchy. The Church of England allowed the Methodist movement within her communion to issue finally in a separation, but there was for a long time no attempt to abolish her exclusive privileges, and the Establishment still remains. Whatever the future has in store for the Church of England, the monarchy is firmly set in the affections of the people not only of these islands but also of the Commonwealth of Nations across the seas. It is not too much to assert that, had the brief experiment of the years 1649–1660 persisted, that Commonwealth of free nations could never have come into being. The instinct that gave strength to the Restoration was a true one. And when, at last, during the reign of James II, the old enemies—the Church of England and Puritan Nonconformity—found that they had common ground in opposition to a greater danger to the State than either of them recognised in the other, the time for the freedom of the press was drawing near. Within four years of the Revolution of the years 1688 to 1689, that freedom was achieved, at any rate in principle. Other battles remained to be won, and ultimately they were won. But the beginning of the eighteenth century proved to be the opening of a new era for the newspapers of this country.

The history of the English newspaper up to the Restoration is not easy either to describe or to follow, because of the similarity, and the length, of the titles of some of the journals. During little more than half-a-century from

the appearance of the report of the two murder trials in Yorkshire to the Restoration, scores of newspapers had circulated in London. Few had lasted for more than a year or two. The reason for this lay not only in the restrictions that always threatened to bring the life of a newspaper to an end, but also because, in a city of no more than 350,000 inhabitants, only a small proportion could read, and the newspaper was a new thing. Only twenty years ago, the number of wireless sets was hardly thousands where it is now millions. Of all this set of newspapers which were produced in London during the reigns of James I, Charles I and Charles II (up to the Plague and the Fire of London) and the Commonwealth, only one still survives, *The London Gazette*. Just before the Restoration, Henry Muddiman had produced the last of the Commonwealth newspapers, *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, which was circulated at the same time as *Mercurius Publicus*. At the Restoration, both of these were continued, their politics naturally being changed, and both became official organs of the new Government. When the Plague broke out in London and the Court moved to Oxford, the place of these two newspapers was taken by *The Oxford Gazette*, which was thus the first newspaper to be printed outside London. It was issued twice a week, and was edited, under licence from Lord Arlington, a member of the Cabal Ministry, by Henry Muddiman. From November 19th, 1665, to the beginning of February, 1666, that is, for 23 numbers, its title remained unchanged. From the 24th issue, it was known under a new title, *The London Gazette*; and up to the present time it has appeared on every Tuesday and Friday as the official medium through which official announcements are made on behalf of the Government. Now, at last, England had a regular newspaper which was published twice a week and seemed likely to last. Being official, however,

it was cautious and even dull. Beyond royal proclamations, addresses from Tory politicians, descriptions of clashes on the Danube between imperial troops and rebels and of highwaymen who were wanted for crime, announcements of cock fights, and advertisements about lost dogs, *The London Gazette* did not notice the new life and hope and gaiety which the Restoration had brought to the country. Nor did it circulate outside London. Nobles and university dons and men of business who could not visit London frequently had to be content with newsletters, which continued to be written until provincial newspapers were established. In this respect, Carlisle and Newcastle-on-Tyne and Bristol were little better-off than India and the American Colonies. *The London Gazette* did, however, circulate abroad in a French edition, though it attracted little foreign news to its columns.

Yet there was enough to arouse excitement, let alone interest, during the reign of Charles II. The Clarendon Code and its harsh treatment of nonconformists, the Great Fire and the Great Plague of London, the Cabal Ministry, the secret negotiations with Louis XIV of France, the excitement about the religion of James, Duke of York, the Exclusion Bill, and the Rye House Plot—all these would have filled the columns of the newspapers with exciting reading-matter. The time was not far distant, however, when equally exciting events in the expulsion of James II and the arrival of William and Mary were to bear fruit in the appearance of more newspapers to supply the demand for news that should be as near the truth as was possible. In London, several fresh newspapers began their careers at this time, amongst them *The Universal Intelligencer*, *The English Courant*, *The London Courant*, *The London Mercury*, *The Orange Gazette*, and *The London Intelligencer*. The titles, except of the " Orange " publica-

tion, do not shew much inventiveness. *The Flying Post*, another of the new ventures, did an enterprising thing when it announced that,

> if any gentleman has a mind to oblige his friend or correspondent in the country with this account of public affairs, he can have it for twopence on a sheet of fine paper, half of which being left blank he may thereon write his own affairs or the material news of the day.

Though, far from its battles being over, many of them were only beginning, the newspaper had now come to stay. Already a great variety of news was finding its way into the press. Nobody, however, made any attempt to define what "news" was until Richard Steele chose his Latin motto for *The Tatler* in the year 1709:

> *Quicquid agunt homines nostri farrago libelli.*
> (Whatever mankind does forms the mixed material of our discourse.)

A casual visit in the evening to a country inn at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Marlborough was winning his victories and when the English people were becoming conscious of national politics and of the growth of their possessions overseas, would have revealed to a would-be newspaper editor that, even in the remote parts of the country, men were eager for news. It was in the country inns, as well as in those of the town, that newspapers, even though they might be a week, or even a month, old, which had been sent to the inns by the squire on his return from a session of Parliament, were eagerly read aloud and as eagerly listened to. Amongst the leisured, professional and business classes in London, a new kind of place for gossip and refreshment sprang up in the time of Charles II as a welcome relief to the gloom and the seriousness of the Commonwealth. This new institution was made possible owing to the introduction into this country of a hitherto-unheard-of beverage called

Numb. 124.

Mercurius Britanicus,

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday, March* 30. to *Monday, April* 6. 1646

WE had the happineſſe heretofore to have the *riſling* of the Kings *Cabinet*, which it pleaſed God to give into our hands at the renowned Battel of *Naſeby*, wherein we ranſackt the greateſt *Treaſure* of the Enemy, their moſt ſecret *Counſels*, hidden Myſteries of State, and made a full diſcovery of all *pernicious practiſes* then on foot (both at home and abroad) to advance that curſed *Conſpiracie* againſt our *Religion* and *Liberties*. And this we entertained with admiration, as a bleſſed *Omen*, that ſince the *ſecret intentions* of our enemies were (by the good hand of God) ſo fully laid open to the world, the time was drawing on when their Deſignes were to receive a *fatall period*.

The taking the Kings Cabinet a great mercy.

Cavaliers quite down the wind.

This in the event hath proved little leſſe then propheſie; for ſince that time they never proſpered, but have loſt Battle after Battle, Towne after Towne, Caſtle after Caſtle, till they have ſcarce a hole left to hide their heads in, their main Army alſo disbanded, and not any conſiderable Force of theirs being (nor like to be) viſible in any part of the Kingdom. Among other our Victories, that againſt the Lord *Digby* at *Sherborne* is of great eminence, as well in regard of the ſeaſonableneſſe of it (thoſe Forces being intended as the Baſis of a new Northern Army) as alſo by the unexpected gaining of ſeverall Papers of the Lord *Digbies* of grand

At that time they intended an union with *Montroſe*.

A reference to the battle of Naseby in "Mercurius Britanicus" in York Minster Library

MERCVRIVS
AULICUS,
A
DIVRNALL,

Communicating the intelligence, and affaires of the Court to the rest of the KINGDOME.

OXFORD,
Printed by H. Hall, *for* W. Webb.
Ann. Dom. M. DC. XLII

The title-page of the first issue of "Mercurius Aulicus" in York Minster Library

coffee. The ways of getting news and exchanging opinions on the burning questions of the day were limited. Parliament seldom met, because the king did not call it There were no debating societies, no political clubs, and, except for the Royal Society for the Advancement of Science, which was in process of foundation in the last year or two of the Commonwealth, no learned societies. Tobacco had already played its part in helping people both to talk and to listen. In coffee-houses, men of like tastes and occupations " mixed " very well. Every coffee-house had its regular customers. In one, " men about town " would meet ; in another, professional men ; in another, civil servants ; in yet others, men who were engaged in trade or manufacture. London, with a population of under half-a-million people, was more than a port and a business centre. It was a place where people lived, many of them above their business premises. The modern suburbs, such as Kensington or Highgate or Putney or Poplar, were connected with the city only by indifferent roads, and by no means shared its life. While a rich merchant might have a country house a few miles out of London, his real home was the house in which he and his family lived in the Strand or on Ludgate Hill or in Long Acre. He could, therefore, visit his coffee-house in the evenings as well as during the mornings, when he wished to do a little business in a place at which he would be certain to meet his business or professional friends. Business men from outside London, and foreigners, knew that they would be able to find, at certain times of the day, the men they wished to see, if they called at their coffee-houses. These meeting-places thus became the centres of discussion about the affairs of the day, much as clubs are now. Lord Macaulay tells us :

> Foreigners remarked that the coffee-house was that which especially distinguished London from all other cities ; that the

coffee-house was the Londoner's home, and that those who wished to find a gentleman commonly asked, not whether he lived in Fleet Street or Chancery Lane, but whether he frequented the Grecian or the Rainbow. Yet every rank and profession, and every shade of religious and political opinion, had its own head-quarters. There were houses near St. James's Park where fops congregated, their heads and shoulders covered with black or flaxen wigs. . . . The wig came from Paris, and so did the rest of the fine gentleman's ornaments. . . . The conversation was in that dialect which, long after it had ceased to be spoken in fashionable circles, continued, in the mouth of Lord Foppington, to excite the mirth of theatres. . . . In general, the coffee-rooms reeked with tobacco like a guardroom. . . . Nowhere was smoking more constant than at Wills'. That celebrated house, situated between Covent Garden and Bow Street, was sacred to polite letters. There the talk was about poetical justice and the unities of place and time. . . . One group debated whether Paradise Lost ought not to have been in rhyme. . . . Under no roof was a greater variety of figures to be seen. There were earls in stars and garters, clergymen in cassocks and bands, pert Templars, sheepish lads from the universities, translators and index-makers in ragged coats of frieze. The great press was to get near the chair where John Dryden sat. . . . A pinch from his snuff-box was an honour sufficient to turn the head of a young enthusiast. There were coffee-houses where the first medical men might be consulted. Doctor John Radcliffe, who, in the year 1685, rose to the highest practice in London, came daily, at the hour when the Exchange was full, from his house in Bow Street, then a fashionable part of the capital, to Garraway's, and was to be found, surrounded by surgeons and apothecaries, at a particular table. There were Puritan coffee-houses where no oath was heard, and where lank-haired men discussed election and reprobation through their noses ; Jew coffee-houses where dark-eyed money-changers from Venice and from Amsterdam greeted each other ; and Popish coffee-houses where, as good Protestants believed, Jesuits planned, over their cups, another great fire, and cast silver bullets to shoot the king.

From this vigorous and picturesque description, written by a master of English prose, it is clear that the coffee-houses were the most popular social clubs in London. The conversation which went on in them formed public

opinion to such an extent that they were carefully watched by the government of the day. Above all, they were the places where the opinions of the business and professional men were aired and formed. It used to be said that what Manchester says to-day England says to-morrow. It is more true to say that what the coffee-houses said one day in the reign of Charles II the country believed the next day.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

Extracts from a News-letter of the year 1589; *The Kingdome's Intelligencer* (1643); *Mercurius Britanicus* (1643–1646); and *Mercurius Aulicus* (1643–1646)

In the York Minster Library there are copies of a few news-letters (though of none which has been mentioned in this chapter), and of *The Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer*, *Mercurius Britanicus* and *Mercurius Aulicus*.

One of the news-letters is called: *Newes sent to the Ladie Princesse of Orange.* Written in French, and translated "out of French into English by I.E.", it was printed in London by John Wolfe, in the year following the defeat of the Spanish Armada, for circulation in this country. The news covers five pages, each measuring $7\frac{1}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Most of it consists of an account of one of the local quarrels in the struggle between the Catholics and the Protestants in France which led to the murder of Henry III, King of the French, by Jacques Clement, just after he had fled from Paris to join forces with the Protestant leader, Henry of Navarre, who succeeded him as king in the year 1589. The last paragraph runs:

> My Lady the Princesse of Lorraine came downe this way vpon the river of Rosne, accompanied with fifteen Barges, and kept her Easter at Auignon, from whence she is departed this present daie to embarke her selfe at Marseille with foure galleies, which stay there waiting for her, to conduct her to the Duke of Florence with whom she shall now bee married. Monsieur de Mont-

morency staied for her 15 daies at Beauquaire, but was forced to depart before her coming without seeing her, for that he was sent for away to Narbona, whither he is gone from Orenge in al hast. This 24 of March. 1589.

These newes came to London the 20. of May. 1589.

The next newspaper which will be noticed is headed :

Buckingham. *Numb. 4.*

THE
KINGDOMES
Weekly Intelligencer :
SENT ABROAD
To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 17. of *January*, to *Tuesday* the 24. of January. 1643

Like number 3, which is bound with it and with a large number of tracts printed in the seventeenth century, this issue, the pages of which are eight in number and measure 7 by 5¼ inches, contains nothing but news of the Civil War. The news begins :

The first thing fitting to be communicated in this weeks Intelligence, is, Gods goodnesse to the Parliaments forces, in the taking of a whole Troope of the Cavaliers, whereof Master *Crofts* was Captaine : Colonell *Goodwin* fell on the Cavaliers in their quarters at Piddington neer unto Brill in Buckinghamshire, where they took prisoners

Lieutenant *Greene.*

Richard *Bradford*, Quartermaster.

Hen: Scudamore, *Sam: Bellamy* } Corporals.

Peter Blake of *St. Martin's* in the Fields Gent. Trooper.

Hugh *Hartly* Gent.

Master *Vaughan* servant to the Lord *Rich*

Arth: Rich Trooper and Fellow-Commoner of *Lincolne* College *Oxon.*

Thomas Nicolson of Essex Gent. Trooper.

William Skipwith a Lincolneshire Gent. and one of the King's privy Chamber.

Mr. *Zouch* of *Oxford* Trooper.

James Fleetwood Sergeant to Colonell *Ferdinando Stanhope*, and 24 Troopers besides, with all their Horses and Armes.

All which persons were brought prisoners to *London* : the chiefest in a Coach, the rest in Carts, the 20. of *Jan.* not dragged with Ropes and Chains, through water and dirt, as the poore inhabitants of *Marlebrough* were from thence to *Oxford*, and beaten and cut if they stoopt but to drinke a little water ; the truth of this cruel usage is most certainly known. And let all the world judge whether the Cavaliers in any part of the Kingdome have had successe in any designe against the forces of the Parliament, since their cruell and barbarous carriage at *Brainford*, and their breach of faith in that horrid designe ; have they not since lost *Farnham* Castle, where 120. men were taken prisoners ? lost *Winchester*, where 700. were taken prisoners, with horses and Armes ? lost *Chichester*, where above 70. experienced Commanders, besides Common Souldiers were taken prisoners, with Horses and Armes ? . . . nay, tell me wherein the Cavaliers and Papists have been successful, notwithstanding all their perfidiousnesse, and treacheries ? And can we imagine that God will not continue the blessing of us with successe in so good a cause ? The consideration of all which, should inflame the hearts of all zealous Protestants with unanimous resolutions to weed out these Tares, and Cockle, Cavaliers, and Papists, from Gods field of wheat, which they endeavour to choake and extirpate.

Later in the same issue, details are given of the alleged treatment of the men from Marlborough who were prisoners of war at Oxford :

It were to be wished that the prisoners at Oxford were used by the Provost Marshall like Christians. There are those here in Towne that were eye-witnesses, that 10. dayes together the *Marlebrough* men were so chained and tyed together, that not one could lye downe, but all must lie, nor one stand up, but all must doe the likr [this *r* is a misprint in the original] ; and they lay there for that time . . . on the hard boards, and had but one penny farthing allowance a day.

While in this library only two issues of *The Kingdome's Intelligencer*, numbers 3 and 4, are to be found, the library possesses bound copies of *Mercurius Britanicus* and *Mercurius Aulicus* which contain successive issues forming a running commentary on the state of the country and

giving, where the issues are consecutive, contemporary information of the greatest value to students who wish to gain a true idea of the impression which the events of the years from 1642 to 1646 made on those who lived through them.

The heading of the first page of the first issue of *Mercurius Britanicus* is as follows :

(1) Numb. 1.

Mercurius Britanicus :

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAINE :

For the better Information of the People.

From *Tuesday* the 23. of *Aug.* to *Tuesday* the 29. of *Aug.* 1643.

This book contains numbers 1 to 23, 71 to 98, and 100 to 130, of this journal, covering weekly periods from August 23rd, 1643, to February 19th, 1644, from February 17th, 1645, to September 22nd, 1645, and from September 29th, 1645, to May 18th, 1646. Most of the issues are of eight pages, each $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in size, which are numbered consecutively, the number of the last page being 1118. The last page of number 16, which ran for the week from December 7th to 14th, 1643, is occupied with :

An Elegie on Master *Pym*

No immature or sullen Fate
Did his immortall soul translate,
He passed *Gravely* hence, even
Kept his old pace, from *earth* to *heaven* ;
He had a *soule* did alwayes stand
Open for *businesse*, like his *hand*,
He took in so much, I could call
Him more then individuall,

And so much *businesse* waited by,
Would scarcely give *him* leave to *die*;
He knew the *bounds*, and every thing
Betwixt the people and the *King*;
He could the iust *proportions* draw
Betwixt *Prerogative* and *Law*

. . . . . .

Tears are too narrow *drops* for him,
And *private* fights, too *strait* for *Pym*,
None can complete *Pym* lament,
But *something* like a *Parliament*,
The *publick* sorrow of a State,
Is but a griefe *commensurate*,
We must *enacted passions* have,
And *Laws* for weeping at his grave.

All this is within two broad vertical black borders!

Number 17 begins with an editorial, in which the editor of the rival *Mercurius Aulicus* is attacked in this libellous fashion:

Aulicus hath used to *lie* so long in a *paire* of *sheets*, that he hath *worne* one of them out, and now he arrives here in a *sheet* and a *halfe*; I am informed too, that since the late *discovery* of his lies, scandalls and blasphemies, his reputation hath had a *Convulsion* as well as his Pamphlet, and both are so *shruncke* up of late, that the *Stationers* are not able to afford him such a wide proportion of paper as he formerly had, and they do verily thinke he will *decline* suddenly into the calamity of half a sheet, but in a word, he is so dull, so evirtuated, so spiritles, so saplesse, so sacklesse, and his conceits are as *thin* as the Lady—that I shall have much ado to sublimate the *Mercury* into any Court considerability, or to advance him into any thing that may make us laugh at him, believe it, he is this week so flat . . . as if the *Scots* whole Army were to come in the nine and twentieth of December.

And there follow sarcastic remarks about the King.

In number 130, for the week from May 11th to 18th, 1646, by which time, on May 5th, Charles I had given himself up to the Scots at Newark, the editorial begins:

Will the *Scots* send the King to his *Parliament*, or not? . . . Be resolved, O ye *Commons* of the *Kingdom*; you have paid deare

for your *Liberties*, and whosoever he was that endeavoured to *rob* you of them, is *ipso facto* a Tyrant . . . You know he came [to the Scots] but bare and ill provided thither, so that a new *Suit* or two will do well before he come, only the *Scotch* Tailour may be a little long in fitting him with the *English* fashion: perhaps when that's done, he may have a mind to come from *Newcastle* by water, and to land at the *Parliament-stairs* before we are aware . . . This is but a *guesse*, God forbid that it should be *Prophesi*.

Finally, *Mercurius Aulicus, Communicating the Intelligence and affairs of the Courte, to the rest of the Kingdome*, a whole year's weekly issues for the year 1643 being bound together in a thick volume the pages of which measure 7 by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Strangely, it was published on Sundays, being printed at Oxford " by Henry Hall, for William Webb ". The editor begins his first issue:

The first Weeke

The world hath long enough beene abused with falsehoods: and there's a weekly cheat put out to nourish the abuse amongst the people, and make them pay for their seducement. And that the world may see that the Court is neither so barren of intelligence, as it is conceived; nor the affaires thereof in so unprosperous a condition, as these Pamphlets make them: it is thought fit to let them truly understand the estate of things that so they may no longer pretend ignorance, or be decieved with untruthes: which being premised once for all, we now go on unto the businesse; wherein we shall proceed with all truth and candor.

As might be expected from its author, an Oxford don, this newspaper is dignified and well written, and does not descend to the depths of abuse of its rival. The week's news takes the form of a kind of diary for each day of the year. The day's diary often begins: " It was advertised from *London* . . ." or, " This day came newes . . ."; and, naturally, the news printed on any one day consisted of a recital of events which had taken place one,

two or three days earlier. The whole volume is an admirable piece of literature which deserves to be better known. The last sentence of the last issue for the year runs :

> Which yeare who ever lookes backe upon, will confesse . . . *that Rebellion is a weed of a hasty growth, but will as soone be cut downe, and rott into confusion.*

The writer probably anticipated that he would see the end of this " weed ". The end, however, did not come until eighteen years afterwards.

CHAPTER VIII

NEWSPAPERS FROM 1702 TO THE PRESENT DAY

THE reign of Queen Anne was a time of national security. The Roman Catholic menace had passed. The threat from Scotland, a consequence of the widespread feeling against James II, was not yet felt. The newspaper, and the periodical publication which has taken shape since as the weekly or monthly "magazine", began to attract writers of capacity and even distinction. John Milton's connection with journalism had been brief. Samuel Pecke, though secure in his fame as a journalist, was not a great literary figure. The Oxford editor of *Mercurius Academicus* is otherwise almost unknown. Nathaniel Butler, Thomas Archer, Richard Collings, Thomas Audley and Henry Muddiman were journalists only. Marchmont Needham was a journalist, but he was also an adventurer. None of these, with the exception of Milton, who towers above all English men of letters from Shakespeare onwards, was other than a writer of news and comments on it. Four famous English men of letters ventured into a superior kind of journalism during the reign of Queen Anne. They were Daniel Defoe, Richard Steele, James Addison and Jonathan Swift. They belong to literature, but they belong also to journalism, for they foreshadowed what the newspapers of the future might provide in "special" articles.

The lives of these four men overlapped. Defoe, the oldest of them, was born (probably) in 1661, Swift in 1667, and Addison and Steele, schoolfellows at the Charterhouse, not till 1672. Addison died in 1719, Steele ten, and Defoe twelve, years later, and Swift, the

longest-lived of them all, not till the year of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion. Swift was removed from intimate intercourse with the other three by living in Ireland for most of his life, by his Tory sympathies, and by his clerical calling. Defoe's only venture into the province of journalism was *The Review*, which had a short life of only eight years (1704–12). Though it was published three times a week, he wrote every word of it himself. This is all the more surprising in that he travelled about a great deal, and had not the advantage of comfortable railway trains and the telephone and the telegraph, not to speak of the shorthand-typist. Whether he happened to be in Edinburgh, or in Newgate gaol (as he was when the first issue was published), *The Review* never failed to appear. A former soldier in Monmouth's rebellious army, and a whole-hearted Dissenter, he had espoused the cause of William of Orange, and he never lost his Whig sympathies. He regaled his readers with news, but he gave them much more, for he discoursed at length on the questions of the day, and he wrote much about manners and morals in a series of articles which he called " The Scandal Club ". Yet, sad to say, only one or two copies of his paper are left. The failure of his journalistic enterprise was by no means all loss, for it is doubtful whether, if he had continued to write as fully as he did for eight years for a newspaper, he would have written *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders*, not to speak of *The Journal of the Plague Year*. He is remembered as a man of letters more than as a journalist—though the two are by no means mutually exclusive.

Meantime, the Tories, led by Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, and by Jonathan Swift, had begun a paper in the year 1710 called *The Examiner, or Remarks upon Papers and Occurrences*. The Whigs retorted with *The Whig Examiner*, the aim of which was declared to be " to censure

the writings of others, and to give all persons a re-hearing who have suffered under any unjust sentence of *The Examiner*", the rival Tory paper. The rivalry between these two papers was not quite so bitter, and the language which they used not quite so extravagant, as that between *The Eatanswill Gazette* and *The Eatanswill Independent* in *Pickwick Papers*, but party feeling was allowed full play on both sides. For the first time in the history of journalism in this country, the rival political parties were allowed to have their own organs of the press.

The reflection of English life in the later years of the reign of Queen Anne which was provided in the pages of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* was, however, far more complete than what can be obtained from *The Review* and either of the *Examiners*. Steele and Addison have a secure place in English literature. The first number of *The Tatler* was issued by Steele in the month of April, 1709. At the time of its appearance, Addison, who was a more accomplished scholar than Steele, was in Dublin. On his return to England, he took a larger share in the production of the new magazine than Steele. On March 1st, 1711, *The Spectator* appeared, and *The Tatler* disappeared. In all, and up to December 6th, 1712, 555 numbers were issued, one on every week-day. For the majority of these issues, Steele and Addison were jointly responsible. While it lasted, *The Spectator* was a good seller. As one writer puts it, it " taught the eighteenth century how it should, and especially how it should not, behave in public places, from churches to theatres ; what books it should like, and how it should like them ; how it should treat its husbands, wives, parents and friends ; that it might politely sneer at operas, and must not take any art except literature too seriously ; that a moderate and refined devotion to the Protestant religion and the Hanoverian succession was the duty, though not the

whole duty, of a gentleman. It is still a little astonishing to find with what docility the century obeyed and learnt its lesson". It did more than this, for it invented "The Spectator's Club", and peopled it with typical eighteenth-century characters, of whom the most courtly, the most familiar, and the best beloved, is Sir Roger de Coverley. *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* gained for themselves and for their authors a secure place in the literature of our country.

Such was the gay, irresponsible, outwardly courtly social life of the "upper classes" of this country in the reign of Queen Anne. There was, however, another side to it. In religion, the Wesleyan revival left the greater part of the Church of England untouched. And, meantime, the British Empire was growing under the very eyes of people who hardly noticed it, and certainly were not troubled with any sense of responsibility for it. To the end, the eighteenth century remained picturesque, easy-going, never very serious, and always self-satisfied. It was in this atmosphere that the newspapers of the century began to thrive. It was in this century that they learned their own power.

The Stamp Act of the year 1712, which imposed a duty of ½*d.* on every copy of a newspaper of half-a-sheet or less, and 1*d.* on every copy between half-a-sheet and a whole sheet, killed *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, but did not affect the newspapers anything like as seriously. The newspaper proprietors replied by increasing the size of their papers to two sheets or four pages. Papers that remained within the size that was subject to the tax passed on the amount of the tax to their readers, who paid it cheerfully rather than miss the news. The familiar red stamp that certified that the tax had been paid soon lost its novelty. Within twenty years of the passing of the odious Stamp Act, the number of news-

papers published in London was doubled; and, by the year 1720, Worcester, Stamford, Oxford, Bristol, Salisbury, Exeter, Norwich, Nottingham, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Canterbury and York had their own newspapers. London had had a daily paper, *The London Daily Court*, since the year 1702, the year of the accession of Queen Anne. In its first issue, the editor, Samuel Buckley, made the proud boast to his readers that "the author has taken care to be daily furnished with all that comes from abroad in any language. At the beginning of each article he will quote the foreign paper from which it is taken, that the public, seeing from what country a piece of news comes, with the allowance of that government, may be better able to judge of the credibility and fairness of the relation. Nor will he take upon himself to give any comments, supposing other people to have sense enough to make reflexions for themselves." And he boasted that his newspaper, a single sheet printed on one side only, printed "news, not views". While the first effects of the Stamp Act were disastrous to the prospects of journalists, the pessimism of Jonathan Swift was unjustifiable when he wrote:

> Do you know that Grub Street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it close the last fortnight, and published at least seven papers of my own, besides some of other people's; but now every single half-sheet pays a halfpenny to the queen. *The Observator* is fallen; *The Medleys* are jumbled together with *The Flying Post*; *The Spectator* keeps up and doubles its price. I know not how long it will hold. Have you seen the red stamp the papers are marked with? Methinks the stamp is worth a halfpenny.

Grub Street, a street near Moorfields, London, was then inhabited by writers who found it hard to make a living out of writing. The term is used in contempt for unsuccessful writers. The red stamp, as it appears on

copies of newspapers more than two centuries old, has now turned purple. The cost of the duty was eventually passed on to the public, who got used to paying 1½*d.* each for their newspapers.

Examples of the journalism of this attractive period may be found to be interesting. The following are taken from the first issue of *The York Mercury*, which was printed in six leaves, each 8 by 6 inches.

Title-page. (See illustration facing page 185).

The York Mercury: Or a General View of the Affairs of Europe, But more particularly of Great-Britain: with Useful Observations on Trade.

To be Continued Weekly.

Monday	(Shield-of-arms	Numb. I.
Feb. 23.	of the City	Vol. I.
1718.	of York.)	

York: Printed & Sold by Gr. White and Tho. Hammod jun. Bookseller, by Mr. Body in Whitby, Mr. Clarkson in Scarborough, Mr. Hewitt in Stoxley, Mr. Walker in Thirsk, Mr. Dunn in North-Allerton, Mr. Ferraby Bookseller in Hull, Mr. Mennel in Malton, Mr. Sherwood in Beverley, Mr. Walker in Darlington, Mr. Wilson in Easingwold, Mr. Austin Bookseller in Rippan, Mr. Husband in Stockton, Mr. Plaxton in Kirby, Mr. Cross in Pocklington, Mr. Walker in Wetherby, Mr. Canby in Selby, Mr. Holmes in Skipton, Mr. Newsom in Burrowbridge, Mr. Rusholm in Howden, Mr. Lawrence in Casselton. At all which Places Advertisements are taken in at two Shillings each.

(Price Three-half-pence.)

Items of news:

A Foreigner having Invented a New Coach, which with two Horses will go farther, and more expeditiously, than a Coach will with six. His Majesty hath been pleas'd to grant the Inventor a Patent for the sole making of them for 14 Years.

Colchester; Feb. 9. The Roads to this Place is much infested

by Footpads, to whom nothing comes amiss, Six-pence if they can get it : But last Week they rob'd a Scotch Pedlar of 17*£*. who lives at Lexton, about a Mile from thence.

London, Feb. 19. This Morning about 120 Malefactors from Newgate were sent on Shipboard for our Plantations in the West-Indies.

The first issue of *The York Journal* followed just over six years afterwards. The first number was advertised as :

The York Journal : containing The Most Remarkable Passages and Transactions at Home and Abroad. From Monday, November 16, to Monday, November 23, 1724.

The paper was of folio size, and was :

Printed by Thomas Gent : And are to be Sold at the Printing-Office in Coffee-House-Yard, York.

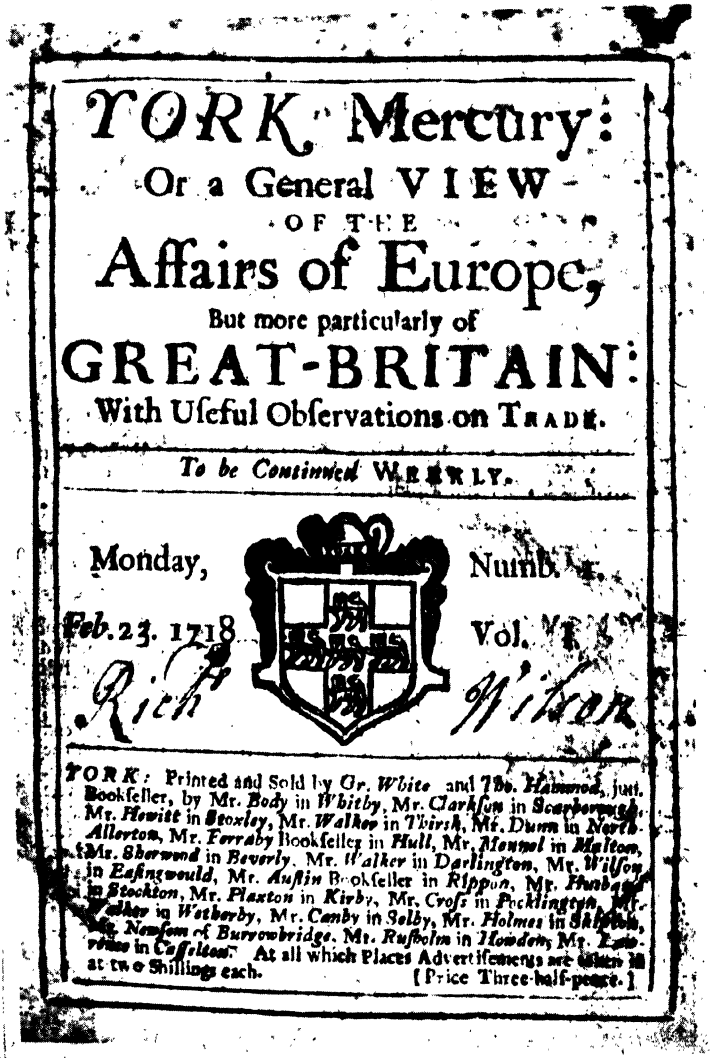
This issue contained :

(1) The King's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, and the Humble Address of the House of Lords, with the reply of the King to the Lords and the Commons.

(2) A poem, by Mr. Pope, " To a Young Lady, on Her Birth-Day ", entitled, " The Wish ".

(3) News from Copenhagen, describing " two Savages from Greenland " performing exercises such as shooting arrows and throwing darts, accompanied by 30 sloops, before the Prince-Royal and the Princess-Royal " and several other Persons of Distinction ", who were seated at the windows of the Royal Palace.

(4) News from London in nearly three columns, including an account of the execution of John Sheppard at Tyburn. Before his death, he gave to " Mr. Applebee, a Printer ", a printed pamphlet called " The Life and Actions of Jack Sheppard, written by himself during his im-



YORK Mercury:
Or a General VIEW
OF THE
Affairs of Europe,
But more particularly of
GREAT-BRITAIN:
With Useful Observations on TRADE.

To be Continued WEEKLY.

Monday, Numb. 1.

Feb. 23. 1718 Vol. I.

YORK: Printed and Sold by Gr. White and Tho. Hammond, jun. Bookseller, by Mr. Body in Whitby, Mr. Clarkson in Scarborough, Mr. Howitt in Stokesley, Mr. Walker in Thirsk, Mr. Dunn in North-Allerton, Mr. Forraby Bookseller in Hull, Mr. Mounsel in Malton, Mr. Sherwood in Beverly, Mr. Walker in Darlington, Mr. Wilson in Easingwould, Mr. Austin Bookseller in Ripon, Mr. Hunbank in Stockton, Mr. Plaxton in Kirby, Mr. Cross in Pocklington, Mr. Walker in Wetherby, Mr. Camby in Selby, Mr. Holmes in Sheffield, Mr. Newsom of Burrowbridge, Mr. Russolm in Howden, Mr. Lowrie in Castleton. At all which Places Advertisements are taken in at two Shillings each. [Price Three-half-pence.]

The title-page of the first issue of "The York Mercury" in York Minster Library

NUMB I

The London Poſt

From *Saturday* June 18. to *Saturday* June 25. 1715. To be continued Weekly

From the Amſterdam Gazette, dated June 28.

Vienna, June 15.

ON Thurſday, the Emperor and Empreſs, accompanied by the Elector of Trier, ſet out from Luxemburgh for Marien Zell. They dined at the Count of Althems Country Seat at Murſted, ſupped at Lilienſtand, and came at Night to Marien Zell, where they propos'd to tarry Saturday and Sunday to pay their Devotions. The Emperor will make an offering of a Golden Heart, ſet with 180 Diamonds, to a miraculous Image of our Lady. On Monday they returned from thence, and on Tueſday will come to the Favourita. We hear, that General Virmont is to go ſhortly to the Army of the King of Pruſſia, to take care of the Emperor's Intereſt, and to procure, if poſſible, an Accommodation with the King of Sweden. The Imperial Court has receiv'd freſh Advices from Conſtantinople, which confirm, That if the Swediſh Army ſhould be able to enter Poland, the Grand Seignior would declare War againſt the Emperor. 'Tis ſaid Prince Eugene made Complaints of this to M. *Stenlock* the *Swediſh Secretary*; who, they ſay, declared he knew nothing of it; that he would inform the King his Maſter of what he had ſaid, and doubted not but he ſhould receive an Anſwer which would juſtifie his Swediſh Majeſty againſt all the Suſpicions which had been conceiv'd on that occaſion.

Letters from Hamburg, dated June 21. tell us, That they have there the following Liſt of the Troops of the King of Sweden in Pomerania.

Regiments of Foot.

	Men
Stuart	800
Meyerfeld	800
Ehrick (Marines)	600
Horn	800
Drouite	600
Vilvart	800
Lenrom	800
Schultze	600
Robbir	600
Engkopping	600
Mellin	300
2 *Battalions of Holſtein*	1000
Welling	600 } *Theſe came from Wiſmar.*
Wrangel	800 }
	9700

Regiments of Cavalry.

	Serve on Horſeback	*Serve on Foot.*
Natiſch, Dragoons,	800	
Marſchal, ditto		800
Baſſewitz, ditto	100	700
Wittingboff, ditto	60	740
Marſefeld, ditto	300	300
Stramfeld, ditto	50	750
Pomeranians, Horſe		350
Bremen, ditto		400
Karckback, Holſt. Horſe	300	450
Scheverin, Horſe	50	300
Stern Fluiſche, ditto		300
	1660	4790
Total Infantry	9700	
Horſe Dragoons	6450	

To which muſt be added 1500 Men who follow'd the King of Sweden from Bender.

Letters from Vienna, dated June 5. tell us, That his Imperial Majeſty has recall'd his Reſident the Heer Fleſchman, from the Ottoman Court, and that when he arrives in Hungary the Turkiſh Aga will be ſent away from hence. In the mean time, the ſaid Aga ſays nothing of the Swediſh Affairs, tho' we are aſſur'd, that the Sultan deſigns to make an Iruption into Poland, to give a Diverſion in favour of Sweden, of which we ſhall hear more when the Expreſs ſent to the Ottoman Court returns. This Court is uneaſy about the preſent Poſture of the King of Sweden's Affairs, as being unwilling that his Majeſty ſhould be expell'd his Dominions in Germany, and yet they cannot well ingage in it, by reaſon it is expected to be ingag'd in a War with

The first page of the first issue of "The London Post" in York Minster Library

prisonment ". Mr Gent prints the first part of this, and promises the second and final part in the next issue.

(5) Items of news from *The St James's Evening Post* for November 19.

(6) Advertisements, one of which is as follows :

A light easy Chariot, with a full fore Glass, with or without Harness for four Horses, a Pair of which are new. As also, a Pair of handsome young Horses, well match'd, with good Marks. Enquire at Captain Brown's at Middlethorpe.

The Weekly Packet for September 24th, 1715, printed in London, has an advertisement of

A New Treatise of Arithmetick. In 3 Parts. The 1st containing all the common Rules of Arithmetick, in whole Numbers and Fractions, both Vulgar and Decimal. The 2d, the Demonstration of those Rules. The 3d, the Use and Application of it in the Exchequer, Custom-House, Excise, Pay Offices, &c., with some practical Rules, Notes and Questions, not hitherto publish'd. By William Alingham, Teacher of the Mathematics. Printed for Jonas Brown at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar.

In *The London Post*, the first issue of which came out on June 18th, an anonymous reader complains, in the second issue, of

the long accounts, in this and other papers, of musty Foreign News which few or none among us ever give themselves the trouble of reading now ; and those Abroad to whom your Papers are sent have them chiefly for the sake of being inform'd of what is done in Great Britain, and particularly in London.

He urges the editor

to insert chiefly those Transactions which are becoming an Historian, and not the Tittle-Tattle which is fit to be taken notice of only by a Scribbler.

The editor replies :

The best Return I think I can make to the Gentleman who has been so kind as to write to me the above Letter, (after I have assur'd him, that this Paper is not now writ by that vile mercenary

Tool which lately had the Management of it) is immediately to proceed to those Accounts, which I am perswaded will be most useful and agreeable to my Readers in general.

In one issue of this paper, correspondents " are desir'd to direct all their Letters Post paid ".

An example of the fulsome flattery of the times, if not indeed of all times, is found in the issue, for April 12th, 1716, of *The Nottingham Mercury*. It runs :

HENLEY-ON-THAMES, *March* 31, 1716.

The Duke of Marlborough being expected in his way from Blenheim, to come through this Town, was met by a Body of about 60 Gentlemen, Freeholders and others, on Horseback, who harrangu'd his Grace a Mile from the Town, and afterwards attended him into the Town in very handsome Order, where he was receiv'd with the joyful Acclamations of a numerous Concourse of People, ringing of Bells, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE.

We are, come, Sir, to attend you with hearty Welcome into the Town of Henley upon Thames ; pleased we are to see your Grace take this Road from Blenheim : The Monumental Blenheim, the Retribution of Prince and Senate, to the Memory of your most Heroick Atchievements. Every View of You, Sir, gives an agreeable Surprize, and brings to fresh Remembrances the most glorious Train of Victories and Successes that were ever obtain'd in any Age, and shall out-live Monuments of Brass and Stone. 'Tis too true, That by the Artful Management of Despairing Men, Attempts have been made to eclipse your Glory ; but your Vertue, like the Sun, has, with a Force irresistable, dispers'd and broke thro' those Clouds, and shines in full Meridian Glory. May you, Sir, long Survive the vain Attacks of Envy, and live the Glory of the Age, to assert the Rights of the Great and Good King George, and the Liberties of Britain, in opposition to the Enemies of both. These my Lord are the sincere Wishes of those who now wait on you in all Humility and Gratitude, and of many others in this Neighbourhood, who are King George's most loyal and most dutiful Subjects, and your Grace's most obliged humble Servants.

The reply of the Duke to this address is not printed.

The newspaper world was not, however, without its scandals. The greatest scandal which shook it up to the middle of the eighteenth century was revealed by a report of the committee of the House of Commons which had been appointed to enquire into the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, after he had resigned the office of Prime Minister in the year 1742. The committee found that, during the last ten years of Walpole's tenure of office, there had been paid, it was alleged, as the price of their support of Walpole's policy, no less a sum than over £50,000 " to authors and printers of newspapers such as *The Free Briton*, *The Daily Courant*, *The Gazetteer*, and other political papers ". But nothing could avail to quench the demand for, and the supply of, news. Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote in *The Idler* :

> Journals are daily multiplied, without increase of knowledge. The tale of the morning paper is told in the evening, and the narratives of the evening are bought again in the morning. These repetitions, indeed, waste time, but they do not shorten it. The most eager peruser of news is tired before he has completed his labour ; and many a man who enters the coffee-house in his night-gown and slippers is called away to his shop or his dinner before he has well considered the state of Europe.

Dr. Johnson was right in what he said about the thirst for news. In a population of not more than five to six millions of people, nearly 7½ millions of copies of newspapers were sold in the year 1759, when Dr. Johnson was making his complaint. In the following year, the number sold was 9½ millions. Seven years later, it had increased to 11½ millions. The average daily circulation had thus grown from 25,000 in 1759, to 32,000 in 1760, and nearly 38,000 in 1767. Though the highest of these figures corresponds to the possession of a newspaper by only 1 in 150 of the population, we may be sure that that copy was read aloud and lent to many others, and that, before it

was thrown away, it had been worked very hard. By this time, too, newspapers had greatly increased in size, both in the number of their pages and in the dimensions of each page. Much was happening about which people wanted to know. The Seven Years War, which added to the British Territory in India, lasted from 1756 to 1763. The Wilkes case was exciting public opinion. The Stamp Act for America had been passed and repealed. And the elder Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was the most prominent public figure.

At the time, and for the greater part of a century later, the House of Commons was not elected on a "popular" franchise. Many boroughs were in the hands of local magnates, whose nominees were "elected" at the hustings. The distribution of seats was by no means in accordance with the populations of the parliamentary divisions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the House of Commons did not realise its responsibility to the people whom, nominally, it represented. This lack of responsibility had its result in the practice of discouraging such reports of its proceedings as were based on the gossip of the lobbies of the House. The House of Lords, firmly entrenched in its stronghold, was apart and aloof from the mass of the people. At last, *The London Daily Post* began to publish reports of the proceedings in Parliament which were based on information given to the editor by members of the House of Commons. The editor of *The St. James's Chronicle* followed suit by lying in wait for members at Westminster and in the coffee-houses in the hope of gleaning information for publication in his newspaper. Much of the credit for the decision to have official accounts of the debates in both Houses of Parliament made belongs to Luke Hansard (1752–1829), who was on the staff of a London printer and newspaper editor. These accounts led ultimately to the compilation

of *verbatim* reports by a staff attached to both Houses for this purpose—the present " Hansard ", as it is called.

It was this right, and yet another desirable addition to the rights of editors of newspapers, for which John Wilkes, the proprietor and editor of *The North Briton*, fought. A member of the House of Commons, he was in many ways an undesirable person, but he stood for principles which, though now established in our public life, had to be fought for. In the famous " number 45 " of his paper, Wilkes had the audacity to criticise in strong terms the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament. As a result, he was declared to be no longer a member of the House. The story of his struggle with the House of Commons for his right to sit because he had been elected for the county of Middlesex not once but even four times, and of his stand for the right to publish accounts of the proceedings of Parliament, need not be told here. Though any newspaper proprietor and editor may be brought to book, even now, if he publishes seditious or libellous matter, it has been established, since the year 1771, that the publication of the debates in Parliament does not constitute a breach of the privileges of Parliament. Wilkes also won his fight for his right to take his seat once he had been elected. In the year 1774 he not only became Lord Mayor of London but also sat in the House of Commons, to which he had first been elected six years earlier.

The Wilkes controversy was a fair indication of the low tone of the public life of this country during the second half of the eighteenth century. The " Letters of Junius " provide another example, during the eighteenth century. If *The School for Scandal*, which was written by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and first acted at the Drury Lane Theatre in the spring of the year 1777, may be regarded as a true reflection of life amongst the upper classes, public

life has never reached a lower level. The action of two newspaper men, William Woodfall and his brother, Sampson, by printing in their newspaper, *The Public Advertiser or The London Daily Post*, the "Letters of Junius", can never be sufficiently condemned. The quarrel with the North American Colonies was then one of the pressing preoccupations of English politicians. The Stamp Act of 1765, for which the ministry of George Grenville was responsible, had been repealed by his successor as Prime Minister, Lord Rockingham, with the support of William Pitt the Elder, who, on account of failing health, would not accept office in the ministry. The agitation headed by the notorious John Wilkes was then making the lives of politicians almost a burden. No ministry was secure for very long. When, in July, 1766, the Rockingham ministry fell, Pitt, who had accepted the earldom of Chatham, formed a ministry under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Grafton, who soon became the real leader of the Government when Chatham's health broke down. During the absence of the Earl from the House of Commons, Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, piloted through Parliament an act for taxing imports into the North American colonies. On Townshend's death, Lord North, who, as Prime Minister from 1770 to 1782, was destined to lose the colonies for this country, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the General Election of the year 1768, Wilkes was elected to the House of Commons to represent the county of Middlesex, and was imprisoned for his former libellous statements. Chatham made a temporary recovery, but was forced to resign his membership of the Government when, once again, his health broke down. It was in these circumstances, when political rivalries were inflamed on the two greatest questions of the day—the colonial question and the political principles for which Wilkes stood—that

the Woodfalls began to print in their newspaper a series of anonymous letters which appeared over the name "Junius". In these letters, "Junius" urged that Grafton should be dismissed in favour of Chatham. There was, naturally, no harm in the subject-matter of the letters, which appeared regularly, at intervals, from January 21st, 1769, to January 21st, 1772. In January, 1770, Lord North became Prime Minister when Chatham, the leader of one of four groups into which the Whigs were divided, was unable to obtain the support of the Duke of Bedford's section. The agitation of "Junius" had therefore failed. But a newspaper never lent its support, even in the depraved times of the reign of George III, to a demand which was made in meaner and more scurrilous terms. From beginning to end, the letters of "Junius" were full of bitter invective and vulgar abuse of the Duke of Grafton and the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Sir James Mansfield. The letters were cleverly written, and couched in that elegance of diction, even though in this case artificial, for which this golden age of parliamentary oratory has never been surpassed. It has been established, without reasonable doubt, that Sir Philip Francis was the writer of the letters. Had the laws of libel been what they now are, both Francis and his journalistic accomplices in his crime against good taste and gentlemanly conduct would have been at least heavily fined. Yet, so undiscriminating can the public be, the publication of these letters at once sent up the circulation of *The Public Advertiser*. From 47,500 copies a month in the year 1784, the circulation had grown to 84,000 a month seven years later. Encouraged by their success, the Woodfalls began to issue a new paper in the year 1769, known as *The Morning Chronicle*. Within half-a-century, a period which witnessed the War of American Independence, the French

Revolution and the war with France, the rise and fall of Napoleon and the beginning of the distress that followed the peace of the year 1815, *The Morning Chronicle* achieved, in the year 1819, a daily circulation of 4,000, or 1,200,000 copies in a full year. While Charles Dickens was a contributor in the year 1843, this daily number grew by 50 per cent. This, however, was only "a flash in the pan", for, six years later, the daily circulation fell to only 3,000 copies. For a time in the 1840's, it was owned by a group of Tory politicians, who included the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Gladstone, the latter being, in his early parliamentary career, a Tory and a member of Parliament for a "pocket borough".

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century, however, that the rapid growth of newspapers, in content, in size of sheet and in daily circulation, reached a point which foreshadowed the stupendous power which is possessed by the newspaper press in our day all over the world. Several causes contributed to this end. One was the rapid growth of the population of towns during the nineteenth century. In the year 1830, the population of Newcastle-on-Tyne was only 30,000. The streets of the medieval city bounded by the medieval wall had then hardly been altered. Robert Grainger, one of the most enterprising builders of the nineteenth century, was allowed to alter the streets of the city almost out of recognition. Within twenty years he had demolished almost all the buildings which he found, and had created the solid and spacious stone buildings which are still to be seen in Grainger Street, Clayton Street, Blackett Street, Eldon Square, Bridge Street, and—one of the finest thoroughfares in this country—Grey Street, named after the Prime Minister, a Northumbrian, who piloted through Parliament the Reform Bill of the year 1832. Other towns were being rebuilt at the same time or a

little later—Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow and Edinburgh amongst them, all of which possess fine streets and squares—to be the business centres of industries and shipping and railways, which gave to manufacture in this country the place up to then occupied by agriculture. A rapid growth in population created the demand for this rapid transformation of the towns. The beginnings of elementary education resulted in the production of a people most of whom were able to read. Cheap newspapers were a necessity. The Stamp Act became more and more a tax on one means of education and of protest against the disgraceful conditions under which men, women and even children had to work, and in which they had to live. By a series of stages the duty on newspapers was increased, between 1765 and 1815, from 1½*d.* on each copy to even 4*d.* Greatly daring, scores of publishers issued newspapers which were unstamped. In the thirties of the nineteenth century the number of such newspapers reached some hundreds. Fines were cheerfully paid by their owners, and even imprisonment failed, as it had failed before, to stem the rising tide of a movement which was almost revolutionary. As a hundred years earlier, when well-known literary figures entered the profession of journalism, so in the first half of the nineteenth century, journalism attracted some of the best literary ability in the country. William Cobbett, the well-known author of *Rural Rides*, was the pioneer. In the year 1802 he began *The Weekly Political Register* and continued it till his death in the year 1835. So that his message should reach the masses, he reduced the price from 1*s.* 0½*d.* to 2*d.* In this way he spread a desire for the reform of Parliament, the first stage in which was achieved before his death. Leigh Hunt began *The Examiner* in the year 1808. For daring to criticise the conduct of the Prince Regent, son of George

III and virtually King during the periods of the insanity of his aged father, he and his brother were imprisoned for two years. For protesting against flogging in the army he was tried, but was acquitted. For the first time, in *The Examiner*, regular criticisms of plays produced in the London theatres appeared.

Meantime, Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton (1803–73), the author of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, and, after him, Richard Cobden (1804–65), the advocate of Free Trade, laboured for the abolition of the stamp duty on newspapers. When it is remembered that, in the year 1820, when the duty on every newspaper was 4*d.*, 29,400,000 newspapers were stamped, and that the revenue from this source alone amounted to upwards of £500,000, and when we are told that every advertiser had to pay a duty of 3*s.* 6*d.* on each appearance of an advertisement in a newspaper, and that, in the year 1828, *The Times* paid £68,000 in duty on advertisements and paper, it is realised that no Chancellor of the Exchequer a century ago would find it easy to consent to the loss of so much revenue as this. But the tide of opposition could not be stemmed. A reduction of the tax, in the year 1836, from 4*d.* to 1*d.* on each copy of a newspaper had the effect of raising the total number of newspapers printed all over the country from 39,000,000 in that year to 122,000,000 in the year 1854. Seven years later, in the year 1861, a date to be remembered, and only eighty-two years ago, when many people who are still alive were children, the duty was abolished. The way was now open for a rapid growth of the newspaper, and for daily newspapers at ½*d.* a copy. But for two expensive and disastrous wars within the past thirty years, many morning, and all evening, newspapers would cost no more.

One of the best-known writers on the history of journalism, Mr. H. R. Fox Burne, has divided that history in

this country into four headings, namely, persecution, liberation, cheapening and widening. These periods, like all historical periods, overlap. Nobody wakes up on any morning to find that, while he has been asleep, one period has ended and another has begun. But this summing-up of the stages in the career of the newspaper in this country could not be improved upon. The fundamental cause of persecution is always fear. The earliest newspapers were disliked because those in control of the government of their country first feared the unknown, and then, as they came to get to know it, feared it still more because they realised that a new power which could be wielded against them had come into being. Where it was possible, therefore, newspapers were suppressed, as our story has revealed; where suppression was not advisable or necessary, control or limitation was resorted to. As it came into power, each side used that power against the newspaper press of the other side. Another weapon was the stamp duty, which lasted from 1712 to 1861—a century-and-a-half. Meantime, those who refused to be suppressed without a fight paid fines or were imprisoned. They were the Martin Luthers and the John Hampdens of the newspaper world. It was they who gained for us the freedom of the press, as it is called. In time of war, this freedom has to be limited in the interests of all. When the press is "controlled" in time of peace, however, as in Germany and Italy before this war, that control is a sign that the reasonable liberties of the people have been lost. When the battle for liberation had been won in this country, every newspaper editor was trusted to use the power of his newspaper in the public interest, in the full knowledge that, should he infringe the laws of libel, blasphemy, sedition, or even decency, he would receive a fair trial in courts of law which dispense the best justice in the world. Our free-

dom, therefore, in this country has had to be won. Now that it has been won, it is all the more precious because of the struggle through which alone it has been earned. That freedom is now at stake everywhere. The battle of the newspaper press was therefore typical of the fight which is being fought now on a wider battlefield. That is why this story has been told in some detail.

We have now arrived at the beginning of the last chapter in the story of the newspaper in this country. As the chapter of " cheapening and widening ", it is the story of those newspapers which we see, or hear of, nearly every day of our lives. The causes which have contributed to this process of " cheapening and widening " include not only the abolition of the stamp duty eighty-two years ago, but also the discovery of new methods of making cheaper paper, the use of machinery, the enormous growth of the custom of advertising in newspapers, competition amongst newspapers, the stupendous increases in the circulation of almost every newspaper, so that there is hardly a home in which at least one newspaper is not taken and read every day, Sundays not excepted, and skilful choice and presentation of news so that it is possible to see, almost at a glance, what each day's news is. These features of modern journalism have contributed to make our newspaper press the " fourth estate of the realm ".

When, in the year 1937, *The Morning Post* was amalgamated with *The Daily Telegraph*, under the title of *The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, one of the oldest London newspapers, which had appeared in the year 1772 under the title of *The Morning Post and Daily Advertising Pamphlet*, came to an end. From the first, this newspaper attracted writers of distinction, amongst whom were Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth (some of whose sonnets first appeared in its columns), Thomas Moore, Charles

Lamb, and Robert Southey. During the years from 1795 to 1802, when Coleridge was one of its contributors, its daily circulation rose from 350 to 4,500 copies. Charles James Fox asserted in the House of Commons that " Mr. Coleridge's essays in *The Morning Post* led to the rupture of the treaty of Amiens " and to the continuance of the war with Napoleon. So vigorous were some of the comments of the editors of this paper on the questions of the day that one of them, who was also the owner of the paper, was murdered in his own office. During the long period when Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, *The Morning Post* was regarded as his mouthpiece in foreign affairs, which were always one of its leading features.

The Times, greatest and best of all newspapers, was begun, in the predecessor of its present home in Printing-House Square, Blackfriars, on January 1st, 1785, with the title of *The Daily Universal Register.* It was begun by John Walter I, the founder of the family of that name who made and maintained the reputation of this world-famous journal. Its title was changed to *The Times* in the year 1788. For publishing criticisms of the then Prince of Wales and the then Duke of York which were held to be libellous, Walter served a sentence of imprisonment in Newgate gaol. Some years afterwards, criticisms of the House of Commons which Walter made in his newspaper led the Government of the day to withdraw the payment of the sum of £300 a year which it made towards the support of *The Times.* His son, John Walter II, however, freed the journal from these annual subsidies, and in so doing won for it an independent position. By that time, a new invention had greatly helped the production of the newspaper, for, in the year 1814, John Walter I adopted steam-printing, by means of which 1,100 copies were run off the machine every hour. In the issue of November 29th, 1814, he boasted, with

justice, that his paper now " presented to the public the practical result of the greatest improvement connected with printing since the discovery of the art itself ". The daily circulation of *The Times* increased from 5,000 copies in the year 1815 to more than 50,000 forty years afterwards.

Amalgamation of newspapers, and absorption of some into others, have brought in their train so many changes in both titles and appearance that the result has often been little less than the appearance of new journals. *The Daily News* was founded in the year 1846 to support the principles of the new Liberalism, and for a few weeks Charles Dickens was its editor. In 1930 *The Daily Chronicle* was merged with it, and the present title is *The News Chronicle*. True to its ideals of reform and justice, *The Daily News* supported the cause of the North against the South in the American Civil War—the cause of Abraham Lincoln, who said to the Southern States :, " We won't break the Union, and you shan't "—the war for the national unity of Italy in which Garibaldi fought, and the freedom of Bulgaria and Armenia from the Turkish yoke. During the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, its war correspondent, Archibald Forbes, by means of his reports of the fighting, set up a new standard in war journalism.

Nine years after the appearance of *The Daily News*, and six years before the duty on paper was removed, came *The Daily Telegraph*. Appearing under the title of *The Daily Telegraph and Courier*, after running for ten weeks at the price of 2*d*. a copy it was offered for sale at the then-unheard-of sum of a penny a copy. Within six months the daily circulation had reached 27,000, easily the highest up to that time. *The Daily Chronicle*, begun in the year 1877 and merged with *The Daily News* in 1930, which opposed Home Rule for Ireland, was the last of

the London newspapers to be founded before the advent of those new developments in newspaper production which have made newspapers accessible to everybody.

Little more than a catalogue of the names of the chief provincial newspapers is called for here. Some of them, such as *The Yorkshire Post* (now *The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury*) have their roots in the eighteenth century, and saw the light under other titles. *The Manchester Guardian*, begun in the year 1821, is the oldest provincial daily newspaper which has preserved its identity unbroken. Birmingham has *The Birmingham Post*, begun as *The Birmingham Daily Post* in 1857 ; Liverpool, *The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, a combination of *The Liverpool Mercury*, which goes back to the year 1811, and *The Liverpool Daily Post*, the two being combined in the year 1935 ; the south-west of England, *The Western Morning News* ; Tyneside, Tees-side and the north-east, *The North Mail* ; Hull, *The Hull Daily Mail* ; Sheffield, *The Sheffield Telegraph* ; and other parts of the country their own morning newspapers. The Scot is still well served by his two great " dailies ", *The Scotsman* (printed in Edinburgh) and *The Glasgow Herald.* These not only contain national news but also give to their readers accounts of local doings, well-written leaders and articles on current topics.

The nineteenth century had almost come to its close before a morning daily newspaper could be bought for less than a penny. It was a London journalist, Alfred Harmsworth, who set himself the task of producing one at ½*d.* a copy. There were then, in almost every large town, evening newspapers at this price, which were eagerly bought by artisans in the towns and farmers in the country districts. The London halfpenny evening papers circulated over a large district for upwards of fifty

miles round London. Could the "working man" be persuaded to buy a morning newspaper at the price of ½*d.*?

With his brother Harold, Alfred Harmsworth made history in the newspaper world in the year 1896 by starting, in answer to this question, *The Daily Mail.* From its very beginnings this newspaper commanded a large circulation not only because of its price but also on account of its vigorous independence of any political party. Within four years another far-seeing newspaper man, Edward Hulton, of Manchester, the second greatest newspaper city in this country, was issuing, also at ½*d.* a copy, *The Daily Dispatch. The Daily Express* (1900), founded by Sir Arthur Pearson, and *The Daily Herald* (1912), quickly became serious competitors for the support of those who wanted morning newspapers at the lowest possible price consistent with the delivery of news that was up-to-date, easily understood and well written. The war of 1914–18, however, proved fatal to the production of "ha'penny papers", and now no morning newspaper can be offered at a lower price than 1*d.* a copy, while many other morning newspapers cost 2*d.*, and *The Times* 3*d.*

Since the beginning of the present century, the production of newspapers has followed the same course as many other kinds of business in the direction of what is sometimes called "big business". Several large groups of newspapers have been formed through the purchase of the majority of their shares by prominent newspaper men whose names are almost household words. Most of the London morning and evening and Sunday newspapers, and many more localised journals, are controlled in this way. There are obvious advantages in the system, for not only is the work of directing their activities in the hands of men of proved business competence, but the

THE DAILY Universal Register

Printed Logographically — By His Majesty's Patent

NUMB. 1.] SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1785 [Price Two-pence Halfpenny

The SIXTH NIGHT.
By His MAJESTY's Company,

AT the THEATRE ROYAL in DRURY LANE this present SATURDAY will be performed

A New COMEDY called
The NATURAL SON.

[illegible]

The Prologue to be spoken by Mr. Bannister [illegible]
After which will be performed the last New Pantomime Entertainment [illegible]

HARLEQUIN JUNIOR
Or, The MAGIC CESTUS.

[illegible]

[illegible] The ROCK of GIBRALTAR.

[illegible] The DOUBLE DEALER [illegible] ARTHUR and EMMELINE [illegible] VENICE PRESERVED [illegible] MAID of HONOUR [illegible]

[illegible] FOR THE AUTHOR.

AT the THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN, this present SATURDAY, January 1, will be performed a New Comedy, called

The FOLLIES of a DAY;
Or, The Marriage of Figaro.

[illegible]

The MAGIC CAVERN;
Or, VIRTUE's TRIUMPH.

[illegible]

MR. WALTER [illegible] Friends and the Public [illegible]

[illegible]

MISCELLANIES IN VERSE AND PROSE.

[illegible]

This Day is published [illegible]

PLAN of the CHAMBER of COMMERCE [illegible]

[illegible]

This Day is published, [illegible]
By the LITERARY SOCIETY,

MODERN TIMES, or The ADVENTURES of GABRIEL OUTCAST. A Novel in Imitation of Gil Blas.

[illegible]

Printed for the Authors [illegible] where may be had [illegible] Printing-house Square, Blackfriars [illegible]

MRS. KING begs leave to acquaint her Friends and the public [illegible] EDUCATION of YOUNG LADIES [illegible]

[illegible]

N.B. Wanted an Apprentice and Half-boarders.

SHIPPING ADVERTISEMENTS.

For NICE, GENOA and LEGHORN,
(With Liberty to touch at One Port in the Channel,)
The NANCY,
THOMAS WHITE, Commander,

BURTHEN 160 Tons, Guns and Men answerable, Lying off the Tower, and will absolutely sail [illegible]

[illegible]

WILLIAM FLYARD, for the said Commander, [illegible] Savage Gardens.

[illegible] for LISBON,
The NANCY,
JOHN RACKHAM, Commander,

BURTHEN [illegible] Tons, Men answerable, Lying off [illegible] Crane [illegible]

[illegible]

WILLIAM FLYARD, for the said Commander, [illegible] Savage Gardens.

For NICE, GENOA and LEGHORN,
(With Liberty [illegible])
[illegible] LIVELY,
ROBERT BRIST[illegible], Commander,

BURTHEN [illegible] Tons, Guns and Men [illegible]

[illegible]

WILLIAM FLYARD, for the said Commander, [illegible] Savage Gardens.

[illegible]

The BETSEY,
ROBERT LANCASTER, Commander,

BURTHEN [illegible]

[illegible]

WILLIAM FLYARD, for the said Commander, [illegible]

NEW NOVELS.

[illegible]

THE YOUNG WIDOW [illegible]

[illegible]

T. BECKARY [illegible] PRINTER [illegible]

R[illegible]

[illegible]

SYMPATHY DEFENDED [illegible]

[illegible]

SHORT HAND on the [illegible] J. LARKHAM [illegible]

[illegible]

The terms of teaching are Guineas [illegible]

To the Public.

TO bring out a New Paper at the present day, when so many others are already established and confirmed in the public opinion, is certainly an arduous undertaking [illegible] fully aware of its difficulties [illegible] I never[illegible]theless entertain very sanguine hopes that the nature of the plan on which this paper will be conducted [illegible] the public favour [illegible] pretensions to encouragement, however flattering they may appear in my own eyes, will be tried before a tribunal [illegible] I shall now [illegible] and the public will judge whether they are well founded.

It is very far [illegible] the Daily Papers [illegible] that they please [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] UNIVERSAL REGISTER [illegible]

[illegible] Parliament [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] UNIVERSAL REGISTER [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] REGISTER [illegible] printed [illegible] seven [illegible] eight of the morning.

Morning Advertiser.

Numb. 1 — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1794. — Price Three Pence Halfpenny.

THEATRES.

COVENT-GARDEN.

This EVENING, February 8,
Will be performed, fourth Time, a Comedy, called,
LOVE'S FRAILTIES,
Or, PRECEPT AGAINST PRACTICE
The principal Characters by
Mr. Lewis, Mr. Quick, Mr. Holman, Mr. Munden, Mr. Farley, Mr. Blanchard, Mrs. Esten, Mrs. Mattocks, Mrs. Bennett, Mrs. Platt, Miss Leake, and Mrs. Pope.
The Prologue to be spoken by Mr. Bensley,
The Epilogue by Mrs. Esten.
After which a Ballet Pantomime, taken from Ossian, called,
OSCAR AND MALVINA,
Or, THE HALL OF FINGAL.
In which Mr. Courtney will perform on the Irish Pipes.
The 5th night of the Comedy on Tuesday, with Harlequin and Faustus.

HAY MARKET.

This EVENING, February 8,
Will be presented, a Comic Opera, in Two Acts, called,
THE QUAKER
Steady, Mr. Bannister, Sen. Mr. Suett, Easy, Mr. Burton, Quinan, Miss De Camp, Caseiy, Mrs. Bannister, Fioretta, Mrs. Stand.
After which will be performed a Comedy, called,
HEIGH-HO FOR A HUSBAND!
The Prologue to be spoken by Mr. Bannister.
The Epilogue by Mr. Bannister, Jun.
To which will be added a Musical Farce, never performed, called,
THE PURSE;
Or, BENEVOLENT TAR
On Monday, My Grandmother. The Children in the Wood, and Harlequin Faustus.

SECOND NIGHT

At the Rotunda, Panton-street, Haymarket, this Evening, Saturday, Feb 8. 1794, will be performed, a new evening's entertainment, called,
THE RENDEZVOUS OF MIRTH;
In which will be introduced the following songs:
Part I.

THE ORIGINAL SOCIETY,
For the Encouragement of Good Servants,
Is carried on

A GENERAL REGISTER-OFFICE.
At No. 131, facing St. Giles's-street, Strand, London

SUCH Servants as can obtain Recommendations from his or their last Employer, with, after Enquiries made, be registered and placed in service, gratis, and entitled to a Premium of

THREE GUINEAS,

On their remaining Three Years in such service.

This Office is open every day, from Ten to Three, except Saturday, when it shuts at One.

Subscriptions are received by Messrs. Thomas, Coutts, and Co. Strand; Messrs. Ransom and Co. Pall-Mall; Messrs. Down and Co. Bartholomew-lane; Messrs. Lockhorts and Co. Pall-Mall; Messrs. Wolstenholme and Co. No. 150, New Bond-street; at the Office of the Society, and by the Agents appointed in the principal Market Towns.

The plan, with an Abstract of the Servant's Character Act procured by this Society, and all necessary rules to Servants, may be had of the Agents, and of all booksellers and stationers in town and country.

J. HUNTINGFORD, Sec.

BRANSCOMB and BISH, ever attentive to the Public's interest, have undertaken, for the last three months, to relieve their friends to be early in the purchase of Lottery Tickets and Shares, as they plainly saw they would be considerably dearer. Time has fully proved their advice to be right; and they would still deem the motives ungrateful for the numerous favours they have received, were they to omit pointing out to all friends, way be the Public to defeat any combination in the Share forward, and make an early purchase, before Tickets are

SEVENTEEN POUNDS

Tickets and Shares, in the greatest variety of numbers, are still to be had on the most reasonable terms, at the Lucky Offices, No. 4, Cornhill — No. 112, Holborn — No. 182, Fleet-street, next to St. Dunstan's Church.

Where the first 30,000 Prize ever sold was shared.

Tickets and Shares registered, correct numerical books, and the full value for

PRIZES paid on DEMAND

The Lottery begins drawing on Tuesday, the 11th inst.

ENGLISH STATE-LOTTERY, 1793.

Begins drawing the 17th of this month.

THE TICKETS are sold and divided into Fifth, Tenth, Eighth, and Sixteenth Shares,

By RICHARDSON, GOODLUCK, and Co.
Stock-Brokers,

At their Licensed State-Lottery Offices,
No. 104, Brick-Building, Cornhill, and at No 8, opposite the King's-Mews, Charing-Cross;
Where, in the last IRISH State-Lottery,
No. 31,632, a Prize of £ 10,000,
Was sold in One Half and Eight Sixteenth Shares
Also
No. 18,915, a Prize of £ 1000,
Sold in a Fourth, Two Eighth, and Eight Sixteenth Shares.

STATE-LOTTERY, 1793
No 12,607, a Prize of £ 30,000,
Sold in Sixteen Sixteenth Shares.

Also in former Lotteries, since the year 1787, a great proportion of capital Prizes, too numerous to mention.

All Shares sold at the above Offices are stamped, agreeably to Act of Parliament.

*** Country Correspondents may have Tickets and Shares sent them, by remitting good Bills, payable at sight, or of a short date.

Tickets registered, to send the earliest intelligence of their success.

FIRE.

THE dreadful and alarming consequences attendant upon Fires in general, have induced COOPER, of MIDDLE-ROW, HOLBORN-BARS, again to recommend to the Public his much approved and long-tried FIRE ESCAPES, constructed on so simple a plan, that invalids of every description, or even infants, may escape that dreadful calamity unhurt. The late unfortunate catastrophe at Lady Dover's, in Hill-street, Berkley, requires, need but be mentioned, to remind the public of the utility of this invention, for, in all human probability, had her Ladyship been so fortunate as to possess one of these machines, her relatives would not at this time have had her loss to deplore. Indeed, the various recent instances in which they have saved the lives, not only of many individuals, may in some measure account for the vast number lately put up, particularly in Noblemens' and Gentlemens' Mansions.

Cooper's FIRE ROPES, which have been long in use, are

TO PUBLICANS AND PRIVATE FAMILIES

On Sunday Morning next will be published, Price 2d.

THE SUNDAY REFORMER, and UNIVERSAL REGISTER, containing four columns more than any other Sunday Paper now in circulation.

Published by G. Riley, No. 331, Ludgate-street; and sold by all news-carriers.

When the Proprietor of THE SUNDAY REFORMER ventured, a few months ago, to offer it for the approbation of the Public, on a plan, in a great measure, entirely new, it was with the most implied success he had recently experienced from a generous Public, in a similar Publication, which induced him again to become a candidate for their favour.

To accomplish this, the Proprietor has spared neither pains nor expence, and he has the satisfaction to find, that the encouragement of a liberal Public has kept pace with his exertions in their service. THE SUNDAY REFORMER, in the course of a few months only, has established itself on the broadest and surest basis—the approbation and esteem of the Public at large, and the Publicans in particular, receives and circulation through the metropolis, and the adjacent villages, has rendered it, at present at least, infinitely beyond the most brilliant success of any other weekly print.

The Proprietor begs leave to assure his readers, that he has too trouble of the value of the encouragement he has received, not to use his constant and best endeavours to render it a regular insertion will, therefore be continued of those Biographical Sketches of popular Preachers, of every Christian denomination, that have found the great leading features of the Paper, with occasional Religious and Moral Essays, which have given such entire and general satisfaction to the Public; and as the ensuing session of Parliament will naturally teem with the most important subjects, a concise but correct history of the proceedings of the Lords and Commons shall be regularly given in THE SUNDAY REFORMER, the lively and interesting progress of which no original mirror, and those topics most affected in their public study, will, the Proprietor trusts, ever render it a welcome visitor in every Christian family.

The Proprietor would be wanting in gratitude, if he omitted to embrace the present opportunity of returning his thanks to those numerous advertising Friends who have favoured him with their commands, and as the encreased circulation of THE SUNDAY REFORMER has produced an overflow of Advertisements, he has to request they will

[317] *The first issue of "The Morning Advertiser," which was founded by licensed victuallers, and circulated chiefly in coffee-houses and inns*

editorial, journalistic, printing and advertising departments attract capable men and provide opportunities to them to perform a service to the public which, when conscientiously rendered, is well worth the doing. The result of this is that morning and evening, by means of ordinary and "picture" papers, the whole country is flooded with news, that even on Sundays there is no cessation in the supply of what most people seem to want in the way of news and comments on it, that the sporting and financial worlds have their own journals, that weekly newspapers, published on Fridays and Saturdays, which contain mainly local news, are as popular as they were before the daily newspaper became universal, and that now everybody, even in time of peace, is "news-minded". Yet newspapers are mainly things of a day. When the next day's issue is published, every previous day's issue is out-of-date; and we must have the latest news. So we buy a newspaper every day. To the question with which the last chapter began: "What is a newspaper"? may now be added another: "What should we do without our newspapers"? A prominent English judge once remarked in court after a trial:

> My opinion of the liberty of the press is that every man ought to be permitted to instruct his fellow-subjects; that every man may fearlessly advance any new doctrines, provided he does so with proper respect to the religion and government of the country; that he may point out errors in the measures of public men, but he must not impute criminal conduct to them. The liberty of the press cannot be carried to this extent without violating another equally sacred right, the right of character. This right can only be attacked, in a court of justice, where the party attacked has a fair opportunity of defending himself. Where vituperation begins, the liberty of the press ends.

So ends our short study of the history of the newspaper. With it ends, too, our survey of the beginnings and the

growth of the book. It may be that, in the distant future, many of the functions of the newspaper may be taken over by the " wireless ", which, in any event, will always supplement them. But books there will always be.

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE—I

THE word " literature ", like very many other words in our language, may be used in more senses than one. But, in the phrase " English Literature ", it means only one thing, namely, the collection of works, in poetry and prose, in the English language which will never be forgotten because they are the best of all the books that have been written in our native tongue. They are the best because they represent our language at its best and because they express something which is part of the life and the thought of our country. They are as English as our lovely countryside. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the plays of Shakespeare, the Bible, Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, the poems of Wordsworth, and the novels of Dickens—all these are literature of the highest merit because they have the qualities without which there can be no literature. Literature, music, painting, architecture—these and other arts are means of expression of the spirit of man. When General Wolfe said that he would rather have written Gray's *Elegy* than take Quebec, he paid to literature the finest tribute that any man of action ever paid to one of the arts.

The story of English Literature is a long one, for it begins with the tribes who left the north-west of the country which we now know as Germany and settled in this country in the middle of the fifth century. Wild and adventurous as these people were, they loved stories, several of which have come down to us in poems which are very different from modern poems. One of these poems, called *The Traveller's Song*, was written probably near the end of the sixth century. It tells of the adventures of a singer who travelled, singing as he went, in

north-western Germany. Another poem, about the blessings of Christianity, was the work of one of the very earliest Anglo-Saxon poets named Cynewulf. Yet another, called *Deor's Complaint*, is the lament of a bard who lost the favour of his lord to a rival. But the longest and best-known poem of these far-away times tells the story of a man named Beowulf, after whom the poem is called, who sailed from Sweden to Denmark to free the king from a man-eating monster. Having maimed the monster, which fled to the moors to die, Beowulf had the harder task of rescuing one of the king's friends from another monster, the mother of the one he had destroyed. His second victory gained for him the position of king in his own country, over which he reigned until he was an old man. His land was then infested with a fierce dragon, which Beowulf went to fight single-handed, refusing the help of a band of younger men. They accompanied him, however, but all except one ran away when the dragon mortally wounded Beowulf, whose one faithful friend was able to kill the dragon just before the hero died.

This story, which occupies more than 2,000 lines, is by far the longest poem of the early days before our Anglo-Saxon forefathers left their own country for Britain. The copy of the poem which the British Museum has possessed for about 200 years was written about the year 1000, though the original copy had been written at least 300 years earlier.

These poems, with others which cannot be named here, are written in a language which is very different from the English language as it is now written and spoken. For example, the preparations for the burial of the body of Beowulf are expressed as follows * :

* One or two minor changes have been made in the passage to make the difference between Anglo-Saxon and modern English as slight as possible.

Sie sio bær gearo
ædre geæfned, thonne we út cymen
and thonne geferian frean userne
leofne mannan, thær he longe sceal
on thæs waldendes wære getholian.

This has been translated :

Let the bier, all complete,
be fashioned with speed against we come forth,
and then let us bear our prince, the loved man,
to where he must long and patiently wait
in the keeping of God.

This language is the earliest known form of Anglo-Saxon. In time, as the new English people spread over the country, the language took different forms known as dialects. But it remained English.

We do not know whether, at this early period, any literature was written except in the form of stories. Those which have been mentioned were probably brought by our English forefathers from their first home across the North Sea. They contain so few traces of the Christian faith that scholars who have studied the poems are by no means agreed that they were written by authors who knew anything of Christianity. From the time when the English tribes in this country were converted to the Christian faith, however, the influence of the Christian religion began to show itself in English literature. The earliest poet whom this country certainly produced was a servant in the monastery ruled over by St. Hilda at Whitby, on the Yorkshire coast, named Cædmon. Cædmon was told in a vision that he must " sing of the beginning of Creation ". So, in the Anglo-Saxon tongue of his time, and in verse, he wrote about the first five books of the Old Testament, and of the life of Christ as found in the Gospels. It may also have been this poor, unlearned servant who wrote an account, in

another poem, of the rebellion of the angels under the leadership of Satan, and of the Fall of man. Cædmon was the first of a long line of writers who lived in monasteries, and one of the very few of these who wrote, not in Latin, but in his native tongue.

It was the Venerable Bede, however, who shed the greatest lustre on the literary history of this country before the Norman Conquest. As a young man, he entered the monastery of Monkwearmouth, when he became a pupil of the abbot, Benedict Biscop. His master, who had brought from Rome beautiful books, inspired his pupil to give himself to a life of study and writing. From the sister monastery of Jarrow, where he lived till his death in the year 735, Bede sent out young missionaries who, filled with love of God and man, played a noble part in the conversion to Christianity of the people of the north-east of this country. It was, however, chiefly through his writings that the influence of Bede lived long after he had passed away. His life at Jarrow was spent not only in teaching pupils, hundreds of whom venerated him as their beloved master, but also in writing books that are still remembered, even though he wrote in Latin and not in English. These books form one of the great literary treasures of our country, and copies of them are carefully preserved wherever they exist. One or two of them, said to have been actually written by Bede, are kept in the library of Durham Cathedral, where, in the Galilee Chapel, his tomb can still be seen. He wrote about education, religion, and history, and he also wrote poetry. His best-known work, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and Nation*, recounts the history of the people of this country from the landing of Julius Cæsar to the year 731, only four years before Bede died. The most interesting portion of the book is that which describes the events in the conversion of England to Christianity.

Though Bede wrote in Latin, he has justly been called the father of English historians.

In the first two centuries of its existence, therefore, poets and scholars had laid the foundations of English Literature in stories, religious writings and history—that is, in fiction, faith and fact. It was a good start.

Then the Danes came. From the time when they sacked the monasteries of the north-east to the days of Alfred the Great, that is, for about a century, English Literature and the Christian Faith were eclipsed. Alfred the Great deserves the admiration and the affection in which he is held for his struggle to preserve the national life. Not only did he restore Christian teaching in his capital, Winchester ; he also added to the store of books by translating, into English, books on History and Geography and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. But, though monastic life was revived at other places at this time and afterwards, the only great work which was written in English until the Norman Conquest is the collection known as *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This important work, the earliest account of the history of this country in English, consists of a number of chronicles of our history from the time of Bede onwards. These writings were produced at several monasteries—Winchester, Canterbury, Worcester, and Abingdon, not far from Oxford. After the Norman Conquest, the monks of Peterborough continued it to the year 1154, the date of the accession of Henry II.

Then, as the Danes had come, so did the Normans. Had they not come, English Literature and the English tongue would have been different from what they became, because they would have remained much purer than they are. But they would have missed the " romantic " strain which came from Normandy, and the loss would have been great.

In their home in the north of France, the Normans were as fond of stories as the forefathers of those English people whose land they invaded. Even before they journeyed south, when they had lived in the country which we now know as Denmark, they had told each other stories. In their new home they quickly adopted the language of the Frankish people amongst whom they settled, a language which was in character not Teutonic or German, but a variety of Latin which belonged to the "Romance", or Latin, family of tongues. The stories of which they grew fonder and fonder were, therefore, called "Romances". Some of them, such as *Morte d'Arthur* (The Death of Arthur, a fabled King of Britain), were believed to be true. They were written by several writers, and must have been read at least as much as any other stories of the time. But people cannot have believed that other stories were literally true, such as *Guy of Warwick*, of which something will be said later in this chapter. Many of these romances were never written down. They were sung by minstrels, or told by bards, in the long winter evenings when lords and their ladies sat round log fires in their huge baronial halls. Some of the minstrels provided humour, and many a lord, even in those early days of the tenth and eleventh centuries, had his own jester. When the Normans came to this country they remained true to their love of romances, and who knows but that they kept alive our forefathers' sense of humour? As we shall see, some of the best-known books during the middle ages consisted of translations, by Englishmen, of these romances from Norman-French into English. King Arthur, Richard *Cœur de Lion*, and Charlemagne provided the historical background for the imagination of many a poet, and thus, unknown to themselves—if indeed King Arthur ever existed—were the means of enriching our language and literature.

Yet, for the space of two centuries or more after the Norman Conquest, while English remained the tongue which was spoken by the native English people, it had to struggle for its very existence as the written language. French was spoken by the upper classes. The Provisions of Oxford (1258) were written in Norman-French. Henry III brought to England, as Edward the Confessor had done, French builders and painters for the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey and the building of Westminster Hall, where he loved to live. Edward I had his eyes turned towards Scotland, but his grandson, Edward III, laid claim to the throne of France, and began a war which lasted, " off and on ", for more than a century, and which, in the end, resulted in nothing which he would have called success. For more than a century the influence of France on England was considerable.

At the same time, the great monasteries which the Normans had founded, and which have given to us many of our great Norman churches, were pouring out service-books, copies of the Scriptures, and other kinds of books useful to the monks and the parish priests, but all of them in Latin. In the schools of this period, Latin was taught, not English. But nothing could stamp out the English tongue. The native English never learned to speak French. Rather did they teach their own language to the descendants of the Normans who had conquered their country but not the people. It was the English folk and the English writers, a numerous class, who kept the English language alive. We cannot be too thankful to our forefathers of this time that the ambitions of kings and nobles did not succeed in killing our English tongue.

Curiously, it was from a lonely village on the river Severn, near Bewdley, in Worcestershire, that one of the great books in English came during this time. It is a history book, and its writer was a parish priest named

Layamon, who translated his book from the French. Like his originals, Layamon went as far back as he could get, and, if he was apt to mistake tradition and legend for fact, it must be remembered that he was writing six hundred years ago, when people were far more willing to accept the written word as true than they now are. He began his history with a king of Syria, who married each of his thirty-three daughters to a king. The marriages did not last long, for, by agreement, each of the daughters killed her husband during the same night. For this, they were exiled by their father, and, putting to sea, landed on the shores of a certain island, which they called, after the name of the eldest amongst them, Albion. There they became mothers of a race of giants, one of whom was named Gog-ma-gog. His name is preserved in the hills near Cambridge which are named after him. After a time, these giants were conquered by a king named Brut, who gave to the island a name, *Britain*, founded on his own name. Amongst his successors, says Layamon, were three kings named Lud, Lear and Arthur. Lud gave his name to London and then to Ludgate, a "circus" in London. Lear is the King Lear of one of Shakespeare's plays. Arthur is the king who gathered together the Knights of the Round Table. Albion, Britain, England—names of our own island. Lud, Lear and Arthur—three of our fabled kings. These names we learn from Layamon, in his poem, *Brut*.

Layamon's history was continued by other writers after him until the year 1479. He was the second writer, Alfred the Great being the first, to write in the English language the history of the English people.

At about the same time, Ormin, a monk who lived either in East Anglia or in the northern Midlands, was writing in English an account of the Gospels as they were read, in Latin, during the Mass in all churches in this

country. And a writer whose name we do not know was composing a religious book for three ladies who had decided to live apart from the world in a hermitage in Devonshire. The books which have been mentioned are not easy to read, but many of the words which are used are so much like their modern English successors that grown-up people can understand what they mean and can grasp at least the general sense of the books.

The early poems which were mentioned earlier in this chapter show the interest which was taken centuries ago in romances. That interest is found everywhere. The Samoan Islanders called Robert Louis Stevenson " Tusitala "—" teller of tales ", that is. For a long time during the middle ages, the most popular romance was the story of Guy of Warwick, which in the thirteenth century was translated from French into English. It forms a very long story, in verse, of more than 20,000 lines. The story is really absurd, for nobody could have done such foolish or such brave things. The scene is laid in the days of Athelstan, King of England from 925 to 940. Guy, a young man in the service of the Earl of Warwick, loved Felice, the earl's daughter. She refused to marry him until he had proved himself the bravest knight in the world. So he set out on his travels in search of adventure, and visited Normandy, Italy, Saxony and even Turkey. He defeated brave men in single combat, and on his return to England killed a dragon which was terrifying the people of Winchester, then the capital of England. Guy now claimed his bride, and they were married, with much pomp and feasting, at Warwick. Almost immediately after the wedding, he decided to set out on his travels again, this time to give himself up to the service of God in return for what God had done for him. On this journey he got as far as Asia Minor and Jerusalem. He met a king who promised to become a

Christian if he would destroy a giant, who was really the Devil in human form. Brave and fearless as ever, Guy went into the struggle, saying to his enemy, who summoned him to surrender : " It is not the custom of my land to surrender." Back again in England, he undertook to serve his king, who did not recognise him, by ridding the kingdom of a giant named Collebrande, the champion of the King of Denmark. The defeat of Guy would have meant that England would have to become subject to Denmark. Scorning Athelstan's offer of half his kingdom if he won, Guy, clothed in his own armour, which had been sent to him from Warwick (though nobody yet knew that he was the famous knight), succeeded in slaying the giant. His life was now coming to an end. St. Michael the Archangel, himself a victor in the struggle with the Devil, appeared to him in a vision warning him that he had only a week to live. From his bed, he sent to Felice the ring which she had given to him when they were betrothed. Recognising the ring, Felice travelled as quickly as she could to see her husband before he died. She was too late to hear him speak, but he died with the knowledge that at last he and his wife had been reunited. Within a short time, Felice followed him to the grave. The poem then proceeds with the adventures of their son.

Thus ends a remarkable, if only imaginary, story of " the brave days of old ". Yet it is not certain who wrote it.

We turn now from romance to something more serious and equally typical of the thought of the time, namely, books on religious subjects. Amongst these was one of the best-known books of the fourteenth century, with what seems to be the curious title of *Ayenbite of Inwit*, that is, the " again-biting of the inner wit ", or the troublings or stirrings of conscience. Again, this is a translation from French into English ; but the name of the writer

is known. He was Dan Michel, a monk of Canterbury ; and he had evidently been struck with the French version of the book, which had been written by a friar for Philip II, King of the French from 1179 to 1223. The English of Dan Michel is not easy to read, for it is in the Kentish dialect, which contained a lot of words which are not found in other dialects of the time. The book begins with something which is rarely found in books until a much later time, namely, a preface or foreword, which contains a table of contents, rather like the list of chapter-headings in a modern book. Like some other books written at this time, this is a long one. It begins with a statement that God gave to mankind ten commandments, written on two tables of stone, which the author is about to explain to Englishmen. Then follow explanations of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Lord's Prayer, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and other things which everybody in the middle ages was supposed to learn. It is quite wrong to suppose that, because the services of the Church were said or sung in Latin by the priests, there was no teaching of religion in English. When sermons were preached, either in churches or in the open air, they were preached in English, and, what is strange to us, were often interrupted with remarks and questions. Several books of this kind, which contained instruction in the Christian faith, have survived, and they show us that careful teaching in the faith was given by word of mouth in days when few people could read.

A psalter of the early fourteenth century, the first that was written from beginning to end in prose, may be quoted from to shew how a short psalm in this psalter differs from the version of it in the Prayer Book :

1. Se, hou gode and hou ioiful thing it is, brether, to wonen in on.
2. As onement in the heued that falleth into the berde, the berde of Aaron.

3. The which fel in-to the hemme of his clothinge, as dew of Hermon that fel in the mounteine of Syon.
4. For our Lord sent hither his blisceinge, and lif vnto the heuen.

Here is the more modern version :

1. Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is : brethren, to dwell together in unity.
2. It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down unto the beard : even unto Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his clothing.
3. Like as the dew of Hermon : which fell upon the hill of Zion.
4. For there the Lord promised his blessing : and life for evermore.

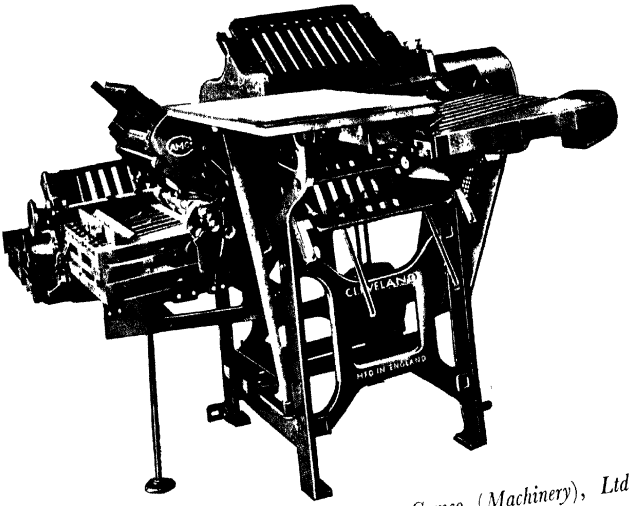
The most celebrated " mission preacher " of the first half of the fourteenth century was named Richard Rolle. Rolle was a Yorkshireman. Like William Langland a little later, he loved the ordinary people. After a vision of the Devil which he said he had had, he made up his mind to become a preacher. He was never ordained to any of the holy orders of the Church : he spoke to his hearers, in the open air, as one of themselves. Indeed, he was the first lay evangelist in this country of whom there is any record. But he did more than preach as he moved about Yorkshire ; he wrote many books, in both English and Latin. At one time he was supposed to have been the author of a poem called *The Pricke of Conscience*, which described in one place the events of the fifteen last days of the world. He might, however, easily have written on this subject, in which every Englishman of that time was instructed. As a writer and a preacher he was emotional, describing in earnest words his own religious experiences and urging everybody to repent before it was too late. Through his writings, he added to the growing list of religious works in English. He wrote about the Ten Commandments, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and other subjects of that kind ; he com-

mitted to writing his thoughts on "Ghostly (that is, spiritual) Gladness"; and he translated into English the Psalms and other parts of the Bible. The Psalms were very popular in this century, and one book which has come down to us, though not written by Rolle, is called *The Lay Folks' Psalter.* By the time Rolle died, in the year 1349, at Hampole, near Doncaster, where he had taken refuge with some nuns, he had become the forerunner of John Bunyan and John Wesley.

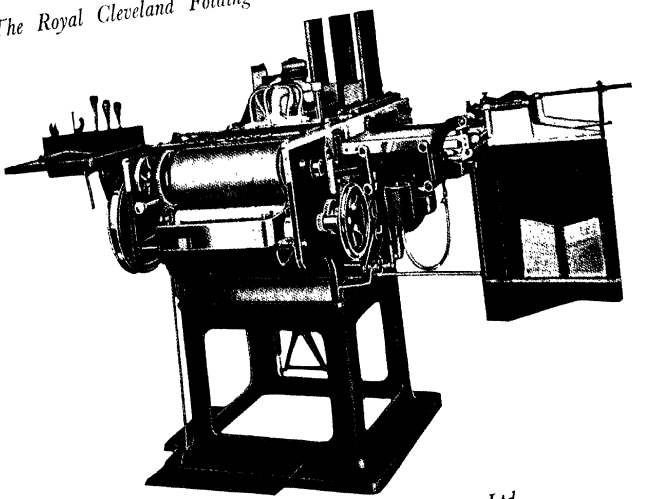
The pride of place as the longest poem on the history of the world is taken by *Cursor Mundi,* a work of which more than one copy was written in the first half of the fourteenth century. The longest version of it occupies nearly 30,000 lines. The unknown author begins his work by referring to the love of romances and other stories of Alexander the Great, the Siege of Troy, the Knights of the Round Table, and Charlemagne and his knights, Roland and Oliver. This kind of story, however, is of earth, and, with all earthly things, passes away. His aim is to tell a story which never dies, namely, the story of the Virgin and Christ. After dedicating his book to the Virgin, he says that his aim is to bring the story of the Bible to the English people in their own tongue—"for the love of Englis lede" (people). Like others who tried to tell the same story, he includes legends which are not to be found in the Bible. He informs us that men did not eat flesh meat till after the Flood; then, because the soaked ground was too wet to grow vegetable matter, animals were used for food. When he comes to the New Testament, he adds to his story information about Christ which is not found in the Gospels as we have them in our Bible. The book, one of the most interesting ever written, is a tribute to the genius of the writer. It is a pity that we do not know his name. But in the middle ages few writers and few painters of those

lovely pictures found in illustrated manuscripts cared about fame.

It was left for the writers of the period between the Black Death (1348 to 1349) and the introduction of printing into this country in the year 1477 to continue the work done by these earlier writers and books, and thus to secure the victory of the English tongue and to make English Literature a permanent possession of the English people.



The Royal Cleveland Folding Machine. Camco (Machinery), Ltd.



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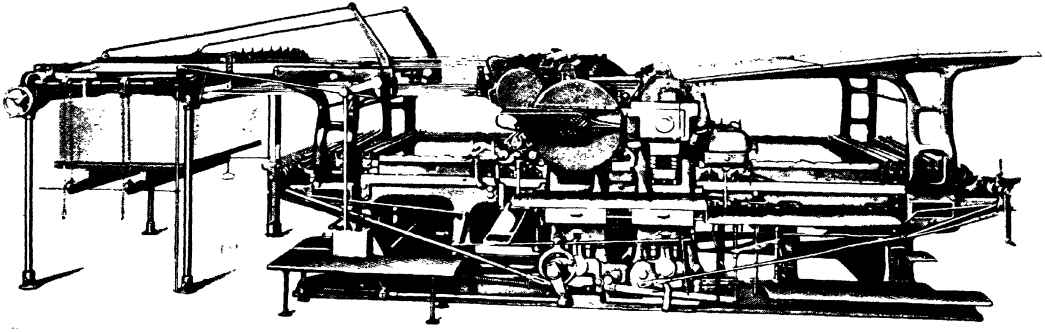

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CHAPTER X

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE—II

THE "Black Death", as the terrible epidemic of the middle of the fourteenth century was called from the moment at which it appeared in this country, interrupted the course of life in almost every way. Except for work that was necessary to life, such as the making of articles of food and clothing, the machinery of industry came to an end. Houses and churches ceased to be built; beautiful books were no longer ordered and made; and all trades that might be termed "luxury" trades came to an end. When things again became normal—a process that lasted for ten or twelve years—and beautiful things again began to be made, a new style came in. It is easy, for example, in architecture to know whether a church was built before the Black Death or after, for the style of building known as "decorated" ceased in the middle of the fourteenth century and was succeeded by the style known as "perpendicular". In the making of beautiful books there was a period of about twenty years after the Black Death when the art of writing and of illumination ceased. When the revival came, it was under foreign influence, which became very strong, and remained so until the end of the fifteenth century. But the changes that were taking place in various ways affected the writing of English very little. Indeed, the later part of the fourteenth century was a vigorous period in English literature, and the fifteenth century almost, if not quite, as vigorous. This vigour was due in the main to four writers—John Wyclif (1320?–1384), William Langland (fourteenth century), Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?–

1400) and John Lydgate (1370?–1451?). These four men were much unlike one another. Wyclif was a scholar of Oxford; Langland came from peasant stock on the slopes of the Malvern Hills; Chaucer was a "man of the world" and a civil servant; Lydgate, an admirer of Chaucer, was a monk of Bury St. Edmunds. Literature, like all other forms of art, knows no distinctions of class or race or time or place. William Shakespeare, John Milton, Thomas Gray, William Wordsworth, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray and Alfred Tennyson were very different from one another, and yet what they all wrote was great literature.

The England of the period which is covered by this chapter was the England of the Hundred Years War, the rise of the Lollards, the rivalry of the Red and White Roses, and the prosperity of the trade in wool with Flanders towards the end of the Wars of the Roses. Yet, except for Wyclif, none of the writers of the period seemed to care very much for these outward signs of activity. Strangely enough, history ceased to be written; and, except for the religious quarrels of the early part of the fifteenth century, and the commercial prosperity of the years at the end of that century, the political quarrels of the time interfered with the ordinary course of life far less than is commonly supposed. And English Literature went calmly on its way.

John Wyclif was born on the Yorkshire side of the river Tees. He was able to have the advantage of an education at the University of Oxford, which from time to time has produced religious figures such as John Wesley, John Keble and John Henry Newman. Wyclif became one of the most learned men of his time. He thought deeply about the gulf between, on the one hand, the bishops and the clergy of his day and their Latin service-books, and, on the other hand, the ignorant and unedu-

cated peasants and their spiritual needs. These needs he attempted to supply in three ways, first, by writing books and, when he was called to answer for his opinions, arguing publicly about them ; second, by translating the whole of the Bible, for the first time, into English, and by writing in English, for those who could read, books about religion ; and, third, by training a body of " poor preachers " to go about the country teaching the people in their own homes and in the open air.

Except for his translation of the Bible, Wyclif's books are not of much importance in the history of English Literature, though, as a man who championed the cause of liberty, he deserves our gratitude. It is said that John Ball, one of the leaders of the Peasants' Revolt of the year 1381, learned his (then) strange doctrines from Wyclif, but this would be hard to prove. He took as his " text " as he addressed the peasants :

> When Adam delved, and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman ?

Nor did Wyclif's band of " poor preachers " help forward the cause of literature, except by explaining the teaching of the Church in the native tongue and thus creating a demand for services and service-books in English which was not satisfied until the Reformation many years afterwards. It was Wyclif's Bible that secured for him his place as a writer. When it is mentioned that about 170 copies of his Bible or of parts of it still survive, it will be realised how popular it was at the time when it was written, and how many copies must have been made if this large number have come down to us. His Bible is regarded as such a great work of prose that he has been entitled " the father of English prose ".

From Wyclif we turn to a different kind of critic of the Church of his day. William Langland, another of the

great names in English literature, born in Shropshire at Cleobury Mortimer, where part of the parish church which he knew still stands, was brought up on the Malvern Hills. He had no advantages of education ; and, even when in later life he went to live in London, he never forgot his humble birth and the peasants and cottagers amongst whom he had been brought up. We are told that he was a strange figure, tall and gaunt, and that he refused to greet people in the street with the greetings in use then, such as : " God save ye ! " While he was in London, away from his home, he brooded over the evils of his day—the sufferings of the peasants and the worldliness of the Church. These he expressed in his poem, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, which he was writing, at intervals, for more than thirty years. It is not easy to give in a few words an idea of the way in which he delivered his message. He tells his readers about a number of visions or dreams which came to him as he slept by the side of a brook on the Malvern Hills, in " a summer season when soft was the sun ". He saw Holy Church in the form of a lady, who points out to a crowd of people, Heaven (a tower), and Hell (a dungeon). Piers (or Peter) Plowman then appears, first as the man of goodwill, and then as Christ, teaching the way of salvation. The ideas of *Do-wel*, *Do-bet* and *Do-best* are introduced. Do-wel is the person who fears God ; Do-bet, one who suffers ; and Do-best, one who is lowly of heart. All through the poem, the author describes the sufferings of the poor, protests against the selfishness of the clergy and the friars, denounces laziness and begging, and condemns lying. Of all the treasures of the world, truth is the greatest. In his verses on the seven deadly sins, he writes about Sloth and Gluttony so well that they are easily imagined to be real people. They appear during the second vision of the " plouh-

mon ", who hears the sermon of Conscience in his dream. One by one, the sermon comes home to the seven deadly sins, who are personified as such—Pride, Lust, Envy, Wrath, Avarice, Gluttony and Sloth.

Gluttony. Now ginneth the Gloton for to go to schrifte.
And carieth him to chircheward, his schrift for to tell.
Then Betun the Breustere bad him gode morwe,
And then he asked of him, " Whoder that he wolde ? "
" To holi chirche," quod he, " for to here Masse,
And then I shall be schriuen, and sin no more."
" I haue good ale, gossib," quod he ; " gloten, wilt try ? "
. . . . . .

Glutton yields to the temptation, enters the inn, and there meets good company—Cis the shoemaker's wife, Wat the warrener, Tomkyn the tinker, Hick the ostler, Hogge the needle-seller, Clarice of Cook's-lane, Sir Pers of Pridye, Pernel of Flanders, Daw the ditcher, the parish clerk, a musician, a rat-catcher, and others. In this convivial atmosphere, Glutton eats and drinks more than is good for him. He stumbles home, and sleeps for two whole days. When he awakes, he comes to himself and makes a vow never again to eat and drink to excess.

Sloth falls into a deep sleep, through laziness. He is wakened out of sleep:

" Icham sori for my sunnes," said he to hi-seluen,
And bet hi-self on the Breste, and bidde God of grace.
. . . . . .
Thenne sat sleuthe vp and sikede (sighed) sore,
And made a-vou bi-fore God for his foule sleuthe :
" Schal no sonneday this seuen year (bote seknesse hit make)
That I ne schal do me ar day to the deore churche,
And here Matins and Masse, as I a monk were.
Schal none ale after mete hole me thennes
Til ichaue Euensone herd."

And then he takes an oath to keep his promise.

The dreamer then sees a vision of the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, His Passion and Crucifixion, and of Hell being defended by Satan and Lucifer with "brasen guns", of the kind which had just been brought into use. In the end, the victorious Christ frees the souls in Hell, and the dreamer is awakened out of his sleep by the sound of the church bells on the morning of Easter Day.

We come now to Geoffrey Chaucer, one of the greatest of English writers of all time. If he had written only *The Canterbury Tales*, this would still be true of him. He was a man of the city, the son of a London vintner, or wine-merchant, who lived near the river Thames. The vintner was a man of some importance, for he was amongst those who went to France with Edward III and his queen, Philippa of Hainault, in the year 1338, just after the king had laid claim to the crown of France. Geoffrey, his son, became a soldier and went abroad on active service, being for a short time a prisoner-of-war in the hands of the French. On his return, he caught the eye of the king, probably because he was his father's son, and became a valet of the king's chamber, later being sent abroad, twice to Italy, on the king's business. His conduct of this business earning for him the favour of the king, he became, under Richard II, chief Customs Officer of the Port of London and, in the year 1389, Clerk of the Royal Works, with charge of the duty of repairing royal buildings such as Westminster Abbey and Palace, the Tower of London, the Royal Palace at Eltham, and St. George's Chapel, Windsor. And he entered the House of Commons. These offices made his life full and interesting, and he used his powers of observation well. Across "Old London Bridge" was the old inn, the Tabard, at Southwark, from which processions of pilgrims used to start for the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket in

Canterbury Cathedral. Making a pilgrimage to the shrine of a saint was believed to be rewarded with remission of some of the pains of purgatory. As a boy, Chaucer must often have run by the side of the horses as the processions of pilgrims began their journeys along the " pilgrim's way "[1]. So he chose for his masterpiece a description of twenty-nine characters, each of whom tells a " tale ". True to the ideal of medieval chivalry, the Knight, the Squire, the Monk, the Prioress and the Second Nun, whom Chaucer chooses for his group of gentlefolk, and the Lawyer, the Doctor and the Clerk, whom he chooses to represent the professional class, tell tales which are on a higher level of culture than those told by the Reeve, the Miller, the Friar and the Wife of Bath. This is true art. For Chaucer, as one who had lived much of his life at court amongst his social superiors in society as well as his social inferiors, had a different point of view from that of Langland. He must have seen, as Langland did, that the society in which the well-born lived and moved was only a section of the life of the country, and he was not blind to social distinctions. But he was writing for lords and ladies in their comfortable homes, and his aim was to divert and amuse them. No one has ever done this better.

Amongst his characters was the Reeve, one of whose lines runs :

A Sheffield thwitel bar(e) he in his hose.

This is the first mention in English Literature of the Sheffield industry of knife-making—a thwitel being a kind of knife. In the chapter house of Sheffield Cathedral, which was opened early in the year 1939, there is a magnificent window of stained glass, which, in its upper part, shows the miller with his knife stuck in his hose. Below, is a remarkable representation of the procession described

by Chaucer on its way to Canterbury, and in the procession is the Reeve, telling his tale.

So we leave Geoffrey Chaucer, one of the greatest figures in our literature, a man who broke away in his greatest work from the fashion of translating French romances, and described in his native tongue, as it was then spoken in London and at the court, what could be seen and heard from time to time in a procession of pilgrims from Southwark to Canterbury. The pilgrim's way is now no more ; but it will always live to those who read Chaucer's immortal work.

With John Lydgate we come very near to the time when printing was introduced into this country. Lydgate, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, greatly admired Chaucer. He wrote smaller works, poems such as *The Hors, the Shepe and the Ghoos,* and *The Chorle and the Byrd,* both of which were afterwards printed by William Caxton. His chief work, however, was a translation from French into English, called *The Fall of Princes.* This, too, was printed by Caxton, and by other printers in the sixteenth century. In Lydgate's translation, the poem occupies more than 36,000 lines, and the translator worked at it for about seven years. Lydgate's views were remarkable for a man of his time. Not only did he condemn murder and the use of poison ; he also attacked pride, ingratitude, covetousness and luxury on the part of rulers, and he declared that a poor man might rightly become a king, provided that he was a good man. He was not so good a poet as Chaucer, whom he calls " my master ". Yet his book was the most popular of all books in this country until towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was read by monarchs and nobles in spite of the good advice which he gave them.

The poem is too long to be described here except in outline. It is an account of nearly 300 rulers in the

history of the world, and includes, amongst Bible characters, Moses, Sisera, Gideon, Samson, Saul, Ahab and Herod, and, amongst "classical" characters, Hercules, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar and Nero. The history ends with the middle of the fourteenth century.

Of Nero, Lydgate wrote :—

> One most cursed in comparison
> That ever was, of high or low degree.

Of Moses :

> The peoples of God, led by Moses,
> Without trouble of any manner,
> Went, each one, safe, in quiet and in peace.

Of Julius Cæsar :

> He murdered was, with many mortal wounds.
> Lo ! that false thrust in worldly pomp is found.

And of Herod :

> This cursed wretch, this odious caitiff—
> I read of none stood further out of grace—
> In sorrow and mischief ended his life.

And he adds that the story of Herod "doth this book disgrace". Lydgate also translated into English, in the year 1426, a religious work called *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man.* In this poem, the reader is warned that life on earth is a pilgrimage to the next world, during which the pilgrim draws nearer and nearer either to Jerusalem (Heaven) or to Babylon (Hell). The poem ends with the "Testament of Christ", who, at his death on the Cross, gave His Soul to God, while He descends into Hell between His death and His Resurrection, His Heart to those who keep His commandments, His sense of perseverance to St. John the Evangelist, His Blood to those who have compassion on Him, His Five Wounds to those who fight against temptation, and His peace to the world. A copy of this "will", made early in the eighteenth century, was found by the writer of this book

some years ago in a parchment book of the seventeenth century in the library of York Minster.

So our story might go on. It must end, however, with one or two more, even if less important, examples of the use of English during the period covered by this chapter.

In the previous chapter, an account was given of the romance of Guy of Warwick. Amongst stories which we now know to be imaginary is another to which reference has been made, that of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. This story exists in many forms and in many separate parts. About the year 1400, an unknown English poet added to the number of these a poem called by the French title of *Morte d'Arthur* (Death of Arthur). King Arthur, according to legend, had dominions not only in this country, but also in the Orkneys and in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Flanders, France, Holland and Germany. He was ordered to appear before the Roman Emperor, Lucius Tiberius, to do homage for his lands. During his absence, Modred, one of his knights, made himself king and married Arthur's queen, Guinevere. On his return, Arthur and Modred fought a duel, in which Modred was slain and Arthur died from a fatal wound. This and other legends of King Arthur and his knights were popular during the middle ages, when people believed them to be true. Tennyson revived some of the stories in *Idylls of the King* and other poems.

Finally, as another example, of a different kind, of the use of the English tongue, it became a custom, from late in the fourteenth century onwards, for people to make their wills in English instead of in Latin. In the registers of wills kept at Somerset House, London, there are many of these wills, some made by people who had not much to leave. Bequests are made of a sheet, a portion of a bullock, and an old brass pot. These are

found side by side with legacies, made by richer people, of lands, rare books, horses and money. Most of the wills are those of people who lived in or near London, but some of the testators lived as far away from the capital as Yorkshire, Hampshire, Devonshire, Bristol, Herefordshire and Shropshire. We can imagine the words in which the wills are expressed being actually dictated to a copyist.

When, in 1476, William Caxton set up his printing-press hard by Westminster Abbey, he little thought that he was doing the greatest possible service to the cause of literature and education in England. Yet it was so. With the introduction of printing into this country, English Literature became established and began to grow. From *Beowulf* to *The Canterbury Tales* has been a long journey, covering seven centuries. The period from Chaucer to the present time is shorter, but much more crowded. More and more books are written and printed. But the best of them are good friends, and happy is the boy or the girl who in early life comes to love them.

A poem of the fifteenth century

He came also still,
Where His Mother was;
As dew in April
That falleth on the grass.

He came also still,
To His Mother's bower;
As dew in April
That falleth on the flower.

He came also still,
Where His Mother lay;
As dew in April,
That falleth on the spray.

(*By an unknown author.*)

CHAPTER XI

MODERN BOOK PRODUCTION

(This Chapter has been contributed by the Publisher)

IN previous chapters the story of books has been told in some detail down to the time when their appearance did not differ essentially from those of to-day. Although the hand-press of Caxton's time has little resemblance to a modern printing-machine, and although then (and for long after) bookbinding was done by hand while now ingenious and complicated machines do the work, the fundamentals are the same. There have been, of course, revolutionary improvements in methods and machines, above all in speed, and it is true to say that nothing has done more towards the spread of knowledge and influencing human thought than the amazing developments in the trades concerned with the making of books. It is impossible to give here even a summary of these changes : the definite and limited purpose of this chapter is to explain in broad outline how ordinary books, of which this is an example, are now produced.

In a sense, the production of a book commences when the author begins to write it, but in this chapter a start will be made at the point when he has completed his work and his manuscript (MS. ; plural, MSS.) is received by the publisher with whom he has arranged for its publication.

The Production Manager will look through the MS. in order to get a general idea of its character and contents, to see how it is broken up into parts, chapters, sections, etc., and to note any special requirements. He then decides the size of page, the type area, and margins, the type, or types, to be used, and the general arrange-

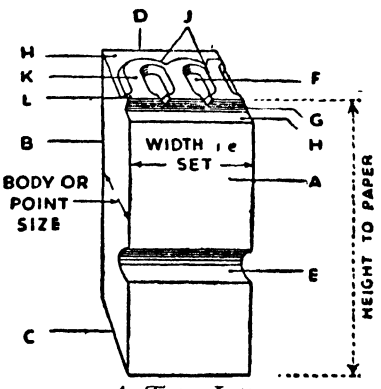
ment of the book. There are very many founts of type suitable for books. That used for this volume is *Baskerville*, one of the most pleasing and readable of modern founts. It is primarily of English design, although related to the traditional shapes of the original type cut by Aldus. Italic type is used for the purposes of emphasis and contrast, and for foreign words. *This is the slanting type in which these lines are set. It is so called because it was first produced in Venice.* The ordinary upright style is *Roman.*

Formerly each size of type had a name—bourgeois, long primer, small pica, pica, etc.—but a point system is now used, and the corresponding sizes are 9 point, 10 point, 11 point, and 12 point. The size of type, or letter, used for this book is 11 point (small pica), but it is cast on a body of the next larger size (12 point). The object of this is to show more white space between the lines and thus to make reading easier. The same effect is obtained by inserting thin strips of metal (*leads*) between each line and the next.

After all these important points which affect the appearance and size of the book have been settled, the MS. and instructions are sent to the printer with a request for a specimen page (showing the various types chosen), and an estimate of the number of pages the book will make if set in this style (*cast-off*) and of the cost. The number of copies to be printed has to be decided by anticipating the demand, and it is then possible to calculate the cost of production, the main items being paper, composition, corrections, illustrations (if any), binding, and paper jacket. To these have to be added payment to the author, business expenses, and the cost of advertising. The price of the book can then be fixed. The larger the number of copies printed at one time, the lower the cost of each copy, because some of the charges, such as

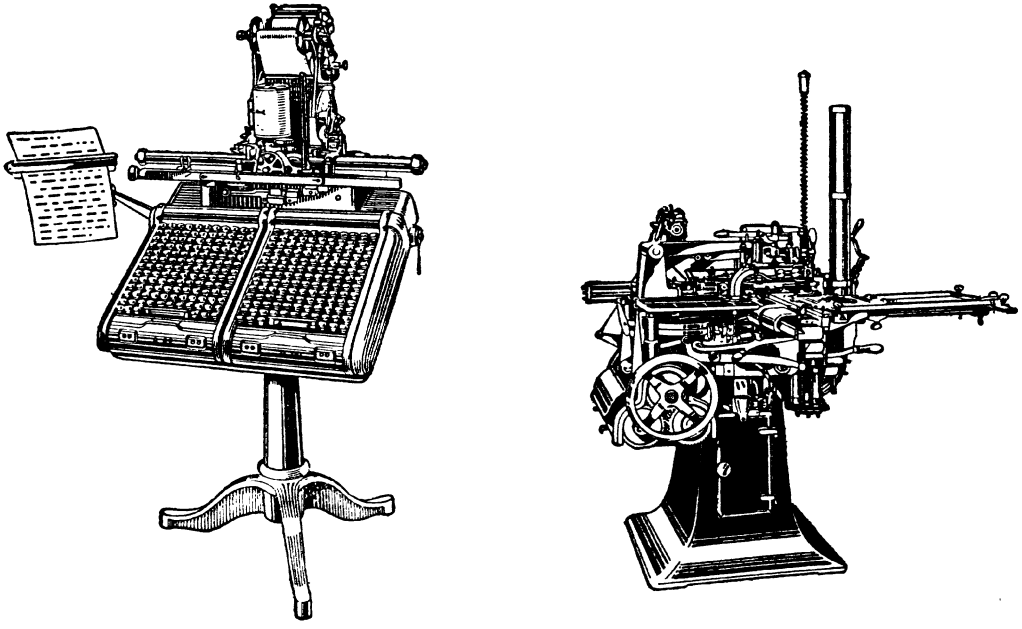
composition and illustration blocks, will not vary with the number printed.

Setting the type.—The specimen page having been approved, the printer's reader goes carefully through the MS. and gives instructions regarding punctuation, capitals, spacing and other details,so as to secure uniformity. It is then ready for the compositor. Until comparatively recently, all type was set by hand, but now it is usual in the case of books for it to be done by machines, of which two kinds are in general use, the *Linotype* and the *Monotype*. The former is more suitable for newspapers, periodicals and magazines, the latter for books. Both are operated from keyboards similar to typewriters, but there the similarity ends. With the Monotype method there are actually two entirely separate machines, the keyboard and the casting machine, and, as each letter is cast separately, corrections and alterations can readily be made. When the operator strikes a key on the keyboard, small holes in various combinations are punched in a roll of paper. The completed roll is transferred to the casting machine, which is worked by the paper on the principle of a pianola, and casts in metal, pumped from the melting-pot below, the letters needed. After the book has been printed the metal is melted and used again. With the Linotype the keyboard is directly connected to cases containing moulds



A Type Letter

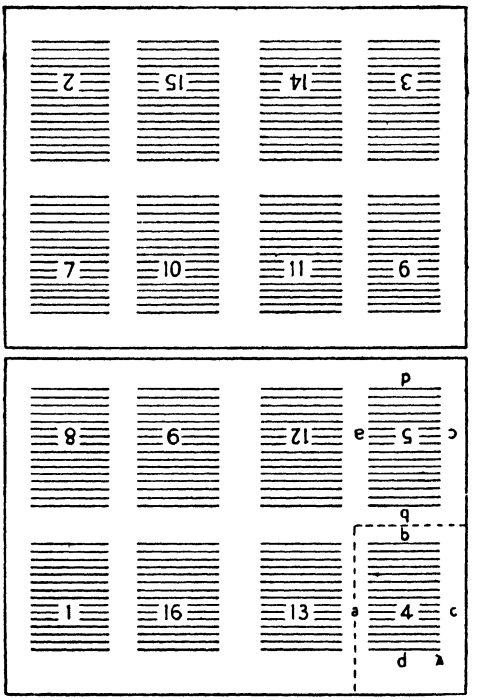
A : Front (of body) ; B : Back (of body) ; C : Foot ; D : Head ; E : Nick ; F : Counter ; G : Beard ; H : Shoulder ; J : Hair Line ; K : Main Stroke ; L : Serif



Monotype Keyboard and Casting Machine

(*matrixes*) of the letters. A whole line is cast at a time, so that if an alteration is necessary a line has to be re-cast.

When a certain number of lines have been set, they are



A diagram showing the order and position in which pages of type are arranged (imposed) for printing on both sides of a sheet of paper, so that when the paper is folded three times it will make a section of sixteen pages in correct sequence. The margins are referred to as a, *back;* b, *head;* c, *foredge;* d, *tail*

transferred to metal trays with raised edges on three sides (*galleys*), placed in a hand-press, and rough proofs pulled. These proofs are corrected by the printer's reader, and, after the necessary alterations have been made by hand,

more proofs are pulled and sent to the author and the publisher. These are called galley, or slip, proofs. Sometimes proofs are asked for in page form. In that event, after the type has been corrected in the galleys, it is divided into pages, and these are arranged in correct sequence and position (*imposed*) in sets or *formes*, and each forme is firmly fixed in a heavy metal frame (*chase*).

A chase contains the number of pages sufficient to cover one side of a sheet of paper of the size to be used for the book, sixteen or thirty-two being usual numbers. The proof sheets are folded before being sent out. When the author has made his final corrections and they have been duly made in the type, the formes are ready for the printing-machine.

Paper.—In the meantime the paper will have been ordered from the maker. There are, of course, many types of paper, made from a variety of materials, such as esparto grass, wood pulp, and, less frequently, linen rags for the best hand-made paper. The paper on which this book is printed is *antique wove*, and normally it would have been made from esparto grass, but under present-day regulations it is composed chiefly of straw. The paper used for illustrations is an *art* or *coated* paper. The body for this is similar to that of the text, but it is heavily coated with china-clay, and polished so as to produce the smooth and hard surface necessary for this kind of illustration. Put very simply, to make paper it is necessary to make a web of fibres of uniform thickness, strength and colour, and this may be done either by hand, or, as is more usual nowadays, by machinery. The basic material is beaten in water, i.e., cut and trimmed so that the cellulose contained in the fibres is mixed with the water to form a wet pulp. This is then spread over a wire-mesh screen in order to drain away surplus water. The web which remains is dried and finished to produce a paper as

required. The original material, the length of time allowed for beating, the amount of size and other substances added in small quantities, are all dependent on the type of paper required.

Printing.—The story of the development of printing-machines, from the crude hand-press of the early printers to the monster rotary presses in use to-day for producing newspapers, is of great interest, but to keep within the scope and purpose of this chapter a description of one type only can be given, that is, the flat-bed perfecting machine, very generally used for bookwork. It gets the name "flat-bed" because the type is placed on an iron table which moves with it backwards and forwards under inking rollers and the printing cylinders. The machine is operated by electric power and completes the printing of both sides of a sheet of paper before it leaves the machine. It has two cylinders placed near each other. The paper is fed to one of these and carried round as the cylinder revolves, so that one side is printed; then it is automatically transferred to the other cylinder, revolving in the opposite direction, and there it receives the backing, or perfecting, impression. One sheet of paper of the size used for this book (40″ × 60″) gives 128 pages, 64 on each side, and each sheet is cut across the shorter length as it leaves the machine.

Illustrations.—Drawings and designs to be printed were originally carved in relief on blocks of wood, but although this method of reproduction has been largely superseded it remains the best for some types of illustrations, and fine examples appear from time to time. Many other processes followed, such as engraving on steel and copper, lithography and, more recently, photo-lithography, photogravure, collotype, line and half-tone, these latter being in more general use.

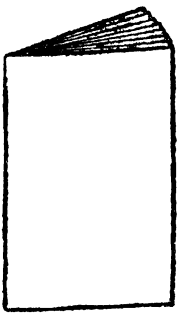
Following on the advent of photography, it was found

that negatives could be printed on metal, and so the line-block displaced the wood-block for commercial use. In this process a photograph is taken of what is to be reproduced, reversed, and printed on a specially prepared zinc plate. The plate is then etched by immersion for some hours in an acid bath so that a facsimile in reverse remains on the plate. Both wood-blocks and line-blocks can be printed on most kinds of paper, but the finer the lines the smoother must be the surface of the paper.

The line-block, however, shows only black and white, but the half-tone process faithfully reproduces light and shade. Here the original is photographed on to the specially prepared zinc plate through a glass screen divided by fine black lines into small squares of sizes varying from about 65 to 225 to the linear inch, and the photograph is thus broken up into dots. Where the original is dark, only a little light will penetrate through the centre of the square, and the dot will be small, but in the highlights more light will penetrate and the dots will be larger on the negative. In the blocks used for this book there are 133 dots to the linear inch. When the negative is printed on copper plate, the blacks of the negative will be white, and *vice versa*. If a print from a half-tone block is examined through a magnifying-glass the dots can distinctly be seen. The plate is etched by acid as with line-blocks, but, before being printed from, it is touched up by hand, a job requiring a high degree of skill and judgment.

Binding.—When the printing is completed, the sheets are sent to the binding department, first to a guillotine, where they are again cut, and then to a folding machine, an ingenious combination of rollers and creasing-cages, which fold the sheets into sections. Each section of the book, which, as has been mentioned previously, usually consists of sixteen or thirty-two pages, has a letter (*signature*) at the bottom of the first page (see pages 9, 25, etc.), and this provides

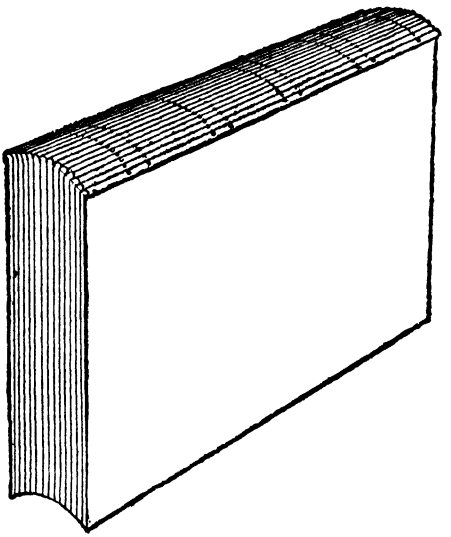
a ready means of identification and of ensuring correct order. The letters "J", "V" and "W" are not used. Sometimes figures are used instead of letters. The size of the pages is determined primarily by the number of times the sheet of paper is folded, and secondarily by the names of the sizes of paper used. In a folio, the sheet is folded once to form two leaves (4 pp.), in a quarto twice to form four (8 pp.), and in an octavo three times to form 8 leaves (16 pp.). The size of this book is crown octavo, and there are 16 pages in each section or signature. When the book is illustrated, the illustrations, other than those printed with the text, are inserted in position, and a strong paper (*endpaper*) is fixed at front and back. The folded sheets are taken to a collating machine, which gathers them in correct order into a complete book. They are then sewn together, the edges are trimmed, and the whole is gripped while the back (*spine*) is rounded. The backs are given a coat of glue and a strip of linen (*mull*). The mull can be seen under the endpapers on the inside of the cover. Next, another coating of glue is given and then a backing of paper, so that the spine is held in position.



A 16-page section, folded and trimmed

While these operations are going on, the boards (*strawboards*) for the cover (*case*), and the cloth with which they are covered, will have been cut to size, and these, together with a strip of much thinner board which goes up the spine, are fed into a case-making machine. This machine glues the cloth to the boards. When the cases are dry the next step is to impress (*block*) into the cloth the title of the book, the name of the author, and any design that may have been selected. The lettering, etc., is cut

in reverse in brass and may be used with ink of one or more colours, with gold, or embossed only. All that remains



A complete book at this stage when the sections have been sewn together, trimmed, and the back rounded

to be done now is to unite the book and the case, and this is done by yet another machine—the casing-in machine. The finished books are placed in a press and kept under pressure until dry, otherwise the boards will warp. The paper wrapper (*jacket*) is put on and the books are ready for packing and dispatch to the publisher's warehouse.

Some large publishing firms have their own printing and binding works, but the publishing side is always a separate organisation. From the publisher the books are bought by booksellers and libraries, and thus become available to readers.

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